

BYZANTIUM AND THE ARABS:
RELATIONS IN CRETE
AND THE AEGEAN AREA

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This paper, written for oral presentation, was read at the Symposium on "The Relations between Byzantium and the Arabs" at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1963. It is reproduced here virtually as given on that occasion, the only textual alterations being the addition of the documentation in the footnotes and such changes in phraseology as are required to adapt a spoken lecture to a written essay. As for the illustrations, they are of necessity far less numerous than they were in the original version, and black-and-white photographs have been substituted for the color slides which I used at Dumbarton Oaks. I am indebted to a number of individuals, publishers, and institutions, identified in the footnotes, for the photographs reproduced in figures 3, 5, 11-12, 15-19, 54-57, 60, 66, 76-78, 80, 82-84, 86-87, 89-94. The rest of the illustrations are from my own photographs taken between 1956 and 1963 during the course of travels in Greece, travels which were supported by grants from the American Philosophical Society and the American Council of Learned Societies and by a Fellowship from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. I am happy to find this occasion to express my appreciation not only to these organizations but also to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens and the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton for their hospitality and for the opportunities they have afforded me to travel and to assemble and digest the material on which this paper is based. To Dumbarton Oaks and its staff, and particularly to Ernst Kitzinger, whose encouragement has been heartening and unfailing, I am especially grateful. I hope that eventually I may be able to make suitable acknowledgment of the assistance I have received from other friends, too numerous to mention here, who have helped me over much unfamiliar ground.

I

I have chosen a date in the middle of the tenth century and a locality on the Greek mainland to serve as the mise-en-scène for the theme which has been assigned to me in this discussion. Specifically the date is February 7, 953. Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus and Romanus II were on the throne in Constantinople; the 'Abbāsid Caliph in Baghdad was al-Mu'tī' li'llāh, the Fātimid Caliph in North Africa and Cairo was al-Mu'izz li-dīn Allāh who had just succeeded to the rule, and in Spain the Umayyad Caliph was the great 'Abd al-Rahmān III. The locality is an isolated and peaceful valley in Phocis on the lower slopes of Mt. Helicon and below the ramparts of Parnassus, not more than seven hours on foot from Delphi. It was at this spot and on this date that St. Luke the Younger, Hosios Loukas the Steiriot, so named after the nearby village of Steiris, died at the age of fifty-six at the close of a life rich in piety and in adventure. It would be a congenial task to devote ourselves to an appreciation of the former of these two aspects of Luke's life—his saintly simplicity, his yearning for peace and solitude, his love of flowers and flowing water, his communion with nature, his converse with the birds and beasts, so reminiscent of the later and, to us, more familiar Francis of Assisi; but our concern here must be with the latter, the adventurous side of his life, occasioned by the exigencies of the age and most specifically by the Arabs who this year are disturbing the even tenor of Byzantine life at Dumbarton Oaks.

Early in the ninth century, perhaps about 829, Luke's grandparents, along with most of their compatriots, had been forced by the raids of Arab pirates (for the moment I use the conventional phrase) to flee from their native island of Aegina in the Saronic Gulf.¹ They made their way to the Gulf of Corinth, and after several moves in Phocis and in the region of Chryson, again caused by Arab coastal raids, they sought refuge in a quiet little cove called Bathys, just north of Itea, the port of Amphissa and Delphi.² It was there that Luke's father was born. In due course the family moved up country and settled in Kastorion, probably to be identified with Kastri,³ or Delphi, where Luke himself, the third of a family of seven, began his life.

After a brief stay in Athens, where he took the monastic habit, Luke returned home and then, at the age of eighteen, sought the solitude of Mt. Ioannitza,⁴

¹ For the sources and commentaries relating to St. Luke's life, see footnote 8 *infra*. Specifically with regard to the flight from Aegina of his grandparents and also of St. Theodora of Thessalonika, cf. A. A. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 1 (Paris, 1935), pp. 57–58, with full bibliography, and G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Grèce aux viii^e, ix^e et x^e siècles," *Byzantion*, 31 (1961), pp. 332–333.

² Chryson is to be identified with modern Khrison, Khryso, Krisum (probably ancient Krisa, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*), near Delphi. As for Bathys, da Costa-Louillet (*op. cit.*, p. 333) identifies it with a locality in southern Arcadia, but in view of the fact that most of the place names which figure in the wanderings of St. Luke's forebears appear to be concentrated in the region of the Gulf of Corinth, I would favor the identification proposed by Kh. Papadopoulos in *Θεολογία*, 13 (1935), p. 201.

³ Cf. Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

⁴ Or Mt. Ioannou. The site has been mistakenly identified with Ioannina, but there can be little

not far from Despina, just east of Itea. About 917 or 918 he had to leave, this time for fear of the Bulgars who were then invading the country under Tzar Simeon. After a brief refuge on an island in the Gulf of Corinth he again fled from the invaders, attended school for a while, despite his age, in Corinth, and then went to Patras, where for ten years he faithfully served a Stylite as cook, fisherman, and general factotum. About 927 he returned to his beloved Mt. Ioannitza, where he remained for a number of years; but his fame for sanctity and his miraculous ability to cure the afflicted brought so many visitors to his cell that he was forced to leave and to seek peace and quiet first in the isolation of the little port of Kalamion, probably just east of the site of ancient Anticyra, near the hamlet of Aspra Spitia; it is said that there is still a chapel of the Virgin there called Kalamiotissa.⁵ After three years an invasion of "Turks" (by which we are doubtless to understand Hungarians)⁶ caused him to take refuge on the nearby barren and arid islet of Ampelona,⁷ where in 946 after three years of self-denial and good works he crossed again to the mainland and found his ultimate retreat and cultivated his little garden in the isolated spot near Steiris, where seven years later he died and where today the beautiful monastery bearing his name still stands (fig. 1).

It was in these last years of his life, probably in 942, that Hosios Loukas made a prophecy for which he became famous and to which perhaps we owe the eventual prominence and rich endowment of the monastery. His biographer tells us that he confidently announced that "Romanos will conquer the island of Crete," that is that the Emperor would recover the island from the Arabs. Since at the time of the prophecy Romanos Lecapenos was on the throne, he was asked whether this event was to take place during his rule, but Luke replied: "No, not this one, but the other"; and indeed about twenty years later, in 961, in the reign of Romanos II, this portentous event occurred. These and other details of Hosios Loukas' life we owe to an anonymous biography written by one of his disciples not long after his death.⁸

doubt of its location in the area indicated. Cf. *Analecta Bollandiana*, 13 (1894), p. 90; Papadopoulos, *ibid.*; da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 333, 335, where Mt. Ioannitza is equated with the present Mt. Bardos.

⁵ Papadopoulos, *Θεολογία*, 13, p. 211; da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, p. 339. This identification is doubtless more probable than that proposed by D. G. Kampouroglou, 'Η Ἀλωσις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ὑπὸ τῶν Σαρακηνῶν' (Athens, 1934), pp. 81, 132, and tentatively accepted by Kenneth M. Setton in *AJA*, 58 (1954), p. 314; Kalamos on the east coast of Attica.

⁶ Cf. da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, p. 339, citing N. A. Bees in 'Ελληνικά (1928), p. 342.

⁷ Ambelos today, the easternmost of a group of small islands at the entrance to the Gulf of Antikyra. Cf. Papadopoulos, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

⁸ Text in G. P. Kremos, *Φωκικά*, 1 (Athens, 1874), pp. 25–62; modern Greek translation, *ibid.*, pp. 132–178. See also Migne, PG, 111, cols. 441–480 (abridged text), and "Supplementa ad acta S. Lucae Iunioris," ed. by E. Martini in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 13 (1894), pp. 81–121; and *Acta Sanctorum*, 7 Feb., II, pp. 83–100, without the Greek text. The prophecy regarding the recovery of Crete is in para. 60; a recapitulation of the chronology of St. Luke's wanderings, in para. 86. The chief events in his life have frequently been summarized: e.g., in C. Diehl, *L'Église et les mosaïques du couvent de Saint-Luc en Phocide*, Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 55 (Paris, 1889), pp. 2–5; in R. W. Schultz and S. H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke of Stiris, in Phocis . . .* (London, 1901), p. 3 ff.; and at length in da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 330–343, accompanied by full bibliography. Important supplementary source material is cited by N. A. Bees in 'Η Μονή τοῦ Όσιου Λουκᾶ τοῦ Στειριώτου . . .', *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrb.* II (1934/5), pp. 179–192⁸.

I have dwelt in some detail on Luke's life and times not only because I will have a good deal to say later about his monastery, but also because the well-documented recital of his and his parents' careers reflects so vividly the uncertainties of life in the Aegean area during most of the ninth century and more than half of the tenth. For most of these vicissitudes the Agarenes—the Arabs—who terrorized the Aegean and the coasts of Greece were responsible. The historiographers have left us no coherent account of these chaotic times, but from scraps and bits scattered here and there in the chronicles, and in the Lives of saints, and from other sources, we are able to piece together at least the fabric of the age insofar as it relates to Arab-Byzantine relations in the area.⁹ A detailed examination of the incidents that make up this impressionistic canvas would obviously take much more time than can be devoted to it here, but we must at least make a very rapid survey. As the chronology is frequently vague or debatable, and as a strictly chronological sequence would in any case commit us to a confusing and repetitive topographical pattern, it is best to take a geographical approach; and since we have begun with the region neighboring the Gulf of Corinth, I propose to proceed from there south and then north on the mainland of Greece, and finally to reach out into the islands and the northern Aegean coastal areas.

Corinth has already been mentioned in connection with St. Luke's residence there, but not with direct reference to the Arabs. A famous incident occurred in the waters off Corinth about the year 879, when Nicetas Ooryphas was sent against a fleet of Cretan Arabs operating along the western coasts of the Peloponnesus and the Gulf of Corinth.¹⁰ Ooryphas, instead of fetching around the peninsula, landed at Cenchreae and in the night had his ships dragged over the isthmus (probably by the track used in Thucydides' time);¹¹ thereupon, attacking the Arabs in the rear, he routed their fleet, killed their commander among others, and took numerous captives. There is reason to believe that the Corinthia was frequently raided by Arab pirates from the Gulf of Nauplia; and coins from the excavations at Corinth testify to the presence of Cretan Arabs there, whether as raiders or as followers of more peaceful pursuits.

In the life of St. Peter of Argos, written by one of his followers shortly after 927, we have glimpses of the unhappy life of the inhabitants of the Argolid littoral who were continually harassed by Arab pirates from Crete.¹²

⁹ Kenneth M. Setton's summary has been of the greatest help to me: "On the Raids of the Moslems in the Aegean in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries and Their Alleged Occupation of Athens," *AJA*, 58 (1954), pp. 311-319.

¹⁰ Theophanes Continuatus, V, 61 (Bonn ed., p. 300ff.). Cf. E. de Muralt, *Essai de chronographie Byzantine ... de 395 à 1057* (St. Petersburg, 1855), p. 462; F. Hirsch, *Byzantinische Studien* (Leipzig, 1876), p. 261; J. H. Finley, Jr., "Corinth in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, 7 (1932), p. 481; A. R. Lewis, *Naval Power and Trade in the Mediterranean, A.D. 500-1100* (Princeton, 1951), p. 142; Setton, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

¹¹ Thucydides III, 15, and VIII, 7. Cf. William Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), p. 44; and reports on the clearing and investigation of the *diolkos* begun in 1956 (M. S. F. Hood, "Archaeology in Greece, 1960-1," *Archaeological Reports for 1960-61* [British School at Athens, London, 1961], p. 7).

¹² See A. Vasiliev, "The 'Life' of St. Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance," *Traditio*, 5 (1947), pp. 163-191; cf. da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-325.

St. Peter himself, resident in Nauplia, was successful in ransoming many captives. In one case Peter's miraculous intervention effected the rescue of a beautiful girl who had been carried off by raiders as a present for the Amir of Crete, and the vessel in which she had been abducted was captured along with its crew. The incident prompted the biographer to quote the proverb, δι Κρήτες πρὸς Κρήτας κρητίζοντες, in other words, the Cretans outcretaned the Cretans.¹³ These raids evidently took place year after year in the latter part of the ninth and the first half of the tenth centuries, not only along the coasts of the Argolid and Arcadia but in the southern and western Peloponnesus as well.¹⁴ Monemvasia was attacked shortly after the Arab conquest of Crete.¹⁵ In the seventies, eighties, and nineties of the ninth century we hear of raids on Koroni, Methone, and Pylos, whether by Arabs from Crete or directly from North Africa and Sicily. A certain Basil, surnamed Nazar or Nasar, is reported to have routed 12,000 Africans off Methone in 880.¹⁶ In the northwest of the peninsula African Arabs joined with the Slavs in the siege of Patras in 805 or 807;¹⁷ and again in 879 Patras was menaced at the time of Ooryphas' counter-attack across the Isthmus of Corinth. It was at this time, too, that we hear of Attacks on Zante and Keffalinia in the Ionian Islands.¹⁸ The presence of Arabs on Levkas is hinted at in an allusion to St. Anne of that island, who died there about 918.¹⁹ In her twenties pressure was brought on her from high places to abandon her life of good works and to marry an undesirable character of "Agarene" origin, but her pious resistance was eventually rewarded by the death of her suitor.

On the mainland in Epirus, at Buthrotum, opposite the northern tip of Corfu, St. Elia of Sicily (823-903), more than once a prisoner of North African Arabs (the first time at the age of twelve), was thrown into jail, along with his disciple and probable biographer Daniel, by the deputy military governor of the place, who took the two holy men for Arab spies.²⁰ The incident is not improbable. One may infer that Buthrotum had been reinforced against an impending Arab attack. Espionage was common on both sides, and Elia, who had spent years of his adventurous life, both captive and free, in North Africa, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, and had even travelled as far as Persia, undoubt-

¹³ Vasiliev in *Traditio*, 5, p. 173.

¹⁴ Genesius, *Basileiai* (Bonn ed., pp. 47-48); cf. da Costa-Louillet, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 322-324.

¹⁵ Cf. A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris, 1951), p. 67.

¹⁶ Theophanes Continuatus, V, 61-63 (Bonn ed., pp. 300-304); Cedrenus (Bonn ed., II, pp. 227-230); Georgius Phrantzes, I, 33, 34 (Bonn ed., pp. 96-97, 103-105); cf. Karl Hopf, "Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit" (in Ersch and Gruber, *Allgemeine Encyklopädie*, 85 [Leipzig, 1867], p. 122; Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 77; Setton, *op. cit.*, pp. 312, 314; G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Sicile et d'Italie méridionale aux viii^e, ix^e et x^e siècles," *Byzantion*, 29-30 (1959-1960), p. 100.

¹⁷ Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio*, 49 (ed. by Gy. Moravcsik, trans. by R. J. H. Jenkins [Budapest, 1949], pp. 228-229); cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, I, p. 53; K. M. Setton, "The Bulgars in the Balkans and the Occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century," *Speculum*, 25 (1950), p. 514; Bon, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

¹⁸ Theophanes Continuatus, V, 62 (Bonn ed., p. 302); cf. Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 261; da Costa-Louillet in *Byzantion*, 31, p. 311.

¹⁹ Da Costa-Louillet, *ibid.*, p. 316.

²⁰ Da Costa-Louillet in *Byzantion*, 29-30, pp. 101-102. On the identification of Buthrotum (Buten-trot, Buthrinto, Buthrenton, Βουθρωτόν), see H. Grégoire and R. de Keyser, "La chanson de Roland et Byzance," *Byzantion*, 14 (1939), pp. 269-275.

edly knew Arabic. In fact we are told that he had cured a number of Arabs of their ills and had baptized them.²¹

Elsewhere on the coasts of the Ionian Sea we have faint glimpses of Arab attacks during the reign of Michael II (820–829) on Nicopolis, then called Maza, near Preveza, and on Ambrakia;²² these particular raids appear to have come to an end at Dragameste (Astakós), certainly a Slavic toponym. Farther south and east, along the shores of Phocis and Boeotia in the Gulf of Corinth, I have already referred to localities where Arab marauders were prime movers in the odysseys of Hosios Loukas and surely of many of his forgotten contemporaries.

The island of Aegina east of the Corinthian isthmus has already been mentioned in connection with the flight of Luke's grandparents immediately after the conquest of Crete. It was perhaps scarcely an exaggeration to say that Aegina was abandoned by the Greeks later in the ninth century. One can imagine the anxiety across the gulf in Athens, whose connection with the Arabs I will have occasion to discuss later. Nearby Euboea, around Cape Sunion, did not escape. In the last quarter of the ninth century a certain 'Uthmān, Amir of Tarsus, with a fleet of thirty galleys attacked the fortress of Khalkis but was defeated and driven off by Oiniates, strategos of the theme of Hellas.²³ We must remember that as far as the Aegean area is concerned the Arab chronicles have not served us well (no official historians accompanied these Syrian and Cretan corsairs), and we are in large part dependent on Byzantine sources for information. The unsuccessful Arab attack on Khalkis was undoubtedly but one, if a major, incident in the history of Euboea vis-à-vis the Arabs in these centuries, and there must have been countless other episodes, reflected in such toponyms as Sarakinikon on the east coast of that island,²⁴ and Sarakinonisi off the southern tip of nearby Skyros,²⁵ and many other places with similar names on the Aegean coasts which have gone unrecorded in the obscurities of these times.²⁶ Later I will have occasion to cite evidence that Arabs not only attacked but landed and remained on the island of Euboea. Here and elsewhere the written record cannot be but a tiny fraction of the

²¹ Da Costa-Louillet in *Byzantium*, 29–30, pp. 99–100.

²² In the *logos* of Constantine Acropolites on St. Barbaros. See da Costa-Louillet in *Byzantium*, 31, p. 311. Cf. Setton in *AJA*, 58, p. 313.

²³ Theophanes Continuatus, V, 59 (Bonn ed., pp. 298–299); Cedrenus (Bonn ed., II, pp. 225–226); cf. de Muralt, *op. cit.*, p. 461; Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 260; G. F. Hertzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, I (Gotha, 1876), p. 234; Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 143; G. F. Welter, *Χαλκίς*, I (Athens, 1955), p. 60. The Amir of Tarsus is called 'Ερμάν in the Greek texts. Hopf and Hertzberg quite reasonably render his name "Osman." But who was he? There is no 'Uthmān among the amirs of Tarsus recorded by the Arab chroniclers. Might he have been Yāzamān, amir of Tarsus between 269 and 278 H./A.D. 883–892? I understand from Professor Jenkins that this identification has already been proposed by H. Grégoire in *Prophora eis St. P. Kyriakiden, Hellenika*, Parartema 4 (Salonica, 1953), pp. 246–249. If so, the attack on Euboea must have been later than 880, the date sometimes assigned (apparently without authority) to the event. A listing of the Arab governors of Tarsus, with full documentation, has been compiled by S. M. Stern in "The Coins of Thamal and of other Governors of Tarsus," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 80 (1960), pp. 218–221.

²⁴ At approximately 38°45' N., 23°42' E., about 18 km. ENE of Prokopion (Achmet Agha).

²⁵ Attracted by the name, in 1958, I made a landing (that nearly ended in disaster) on the little island, and found nothing other than a flock of sheep and a shepherd's hut built of sandstone blocks and fragments of marble.

²⁶ For example, Sarakiniko, the mountainous southwestern extremity of the Pelion peninsula, opposite Artemision at the northern tip of Euboea.

truth, and the light thrown by adventitious archaeological discoveries is only the faintest flicker in the prevailing darkness.

As for the central Aegean, we know from Cameniates' account that at the turn of the century the inhabitants of Naxos had to pay tribute to the Arabs,²⁷ and Paros was so desolated by pirate raids that it was virtually abandoned by humans and became a happy hunting ground for hunters from Euboea. The well-known Life of St. Theoctista of Lesbos by Nicetas Magister provides us with an anecdote indicating that about the year 837 Paros was visited by Cretan pirates returning from a plundering expedition to Lesbos.²⁸ Theoctista was among the captives. It was on this occasion that Nisiris,²⁹ the commander of the Arab fleet, attempted to carry off the ciborium of the famous Church of the Panaghia Hekatontapyliani (fig. 2), but miraculously it grew so large that he could not get it through the door.³⁰ Nicetas, who, incidentally, had at that time been sent by Leo the Wise on a diplomatic mission to the Amir of Crete, viewed and deplored the damage done to the church. In 904 Andros, Naxos, Patmos, and other islands of the Cyclades and the southern Aegean were visited by the large Arab fleet returning from the sack of Thessalonika.³¹ At approximately the same time Strobilos was raided by the renegade Amir Damianos;³² the fortress of Samos was taken and the commandant made prisoner in 892;³³ and about 893 three monasteries were destroyed on that island.³⁴ About 901 Lemnos was attacked,³⁵ and even farther north, about

²⁷ John Cameniates, *De excidio Thessalonicensi*, 70 (Bonn ed., p. 583); cf. de Muralt, *op. cit.*, p. 482; Vasiliev in *Traditio*, 5, p. 175; Setton in *AJA*, 58, p. 313.

²⁸ Setton in *AJA*, 58, p. 313, footnote 14, relates the tale in some detail, as do F. W. Hasluck and H. H. Jewell in *The Church of the Hundred Gates (Panagia Hekatontapyliani) in Paros* (London, 1920), pp. 3-4; cf. Vasiliev in *Traditio*, 5, p. 175. For the approximate date of the episode, see P. Zerlentis, Περὶ τῆς ἀξιοπίστου συναξαρίου Θεοκτίστης τῆς Ὀσίας in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 10 (1901), pp. 159-165 (Nicetas stopped at Paros in 902; Symeon, who related the story of Theoctista to Nicetas, had been on the island for more than thirty years; Theoctista had lived there for nearly thirty-five years). I am indebted to my friend Speros Vryonis for drawing my attention to this article. Professor R. J. H. Jenkins has pointed out to me that the more probable date for the diplomatic mission and this incident is 910, the mission having as its objective the neutralization of Crete during the coming Byzantine naval campaign against Cyprus and Laodicea. On the life of St. Theoctista, see also *Byzantium*, 1 (1924), pp. 191-200, and 4 (1927), p. 796. The presence of Arabs from North Africa on Lesbos toward the middle of the ninth century is suggested by an Idrisid dirhem of the year 232 H./A.D. 846-7 found in Mytilene (American Numismatic Society 61.27).

²⁹ The name is unrecorded in the Arab chronicles. Perhaps Naṣr or Nuṣayr in Arabic.

³⁰ Cf. Gabriel Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), p. 4.

³¹ Cameniates, *op. cit.*, 67-70 (Bonn ed., pp. 580-583); cf. A. Struck, "Die Eroberung Thessalonikes durch die Sarazenen im Jahre 904," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 14 (1905), p. 561.

³² Theophanes Continuatus, VI, 9 (Bonn ed., p. 388), and cf. the other sources cited by Setton in *AJA*, 58, p. 319, footnote 45. There is some question about the location of Strobilos: is the reference to a narrow promontory in Caria (cf. Kampouroglou, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-174), the port in Lycia, or perhaps to a small island off Chios called Στρόβιλος or Στρόβιλη (see Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυλοπαδεῖα, s.v.)? For Damianos, see *infra*, footnote 44.

³³ Symeon Magister, *De Leone Basili F.*, 3 (Bonn ed., p. 701); cf. de Muralt, *op. cit.*, p. 469, Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 351, and Struck, *loc. cit.*, p. 539. The date 889 is sometimes given, but, as Professor Jenkins observes, the attack is mentioned between the eclipse of August 8, 891 and the death of the Patriarch Stephen on May 17, 893.

³⁴ Cf. Setton in *AJA*, 58, p. 313, and Vasiliev in *Traditio*, 5, p. 175.

³⁵ Symeon Magister, *op. cit.*, 10 (Bonn ed., p. 704); Georgius Monachus, *De Leone Basili F.*, 26 (Bonn ed., p. 861); cf. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 351.

³⁶ Cedrenus (Bonn ed., II, p. 227); and cf. de Muralt, *op. cit.*, p. 442, with other relevant sources, and Hopf, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

thirty-five years earlier, the Cretan Arabs had failed in an attack on Prokonesos in the Sea of Marmora.³⁶ Not since Umayyad days had Moslems so closely threatened the capital.

Turning to the western coasts of the Aegean, we hear of raids on Mt. Athos and off-shore islands in the 860's³⁷ and even as late as 993;³⁸ in 866 the Arabs appear to have established a semi-permanent base on the island of Neon off the Chalcidic peninsula.³⁹ And there are, of course, many Athonian legends relating to "Saracenic" depredations, although in most cases it is difficult to tell whether the "Saracens" who figure in these legends were Arabs of the Middle Ages or Tripolitan corsairs of later days. There is a tale of one Arab raider who impiously struck a famous wonder-working icon in the monastery of Iveron, was then miraculously converted, became a monk, and eventually a "saint" under the name of Barbaros.⁴⁰ The incident cannot have occurred earlier than the late tenth century when the katholikon of Iveron was built.⁴¹

Soon after the Arab conquest of Crete, in October 829, a Greek fleet was defeated off the island of Thasos,⁴² and immediately thereafter Mt. Athos would seem to have suffered the greatest depredations; but of all the incidents in the western Aegean the most dramatic and catastrophic was the sack—already mentioned—of Theassalonika in July 904 by more than ten thousand Cretan Arabs, Syrians, and North Africans under the command of the renegade Leo of Tripoli.⁴³ John Cameniates' account—he himself being among the captives—is full of interesting details relating not only to the brief siege and capture of the great city but also to the return journey through the islands to Crete, where many of the twenty-two thousand Christian prisoners were

³⁷ L. Petit, "Vie et office de Sainte Euthyme le Jeune," *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, 8 (1903), pp. 189–190. Cf. Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 1, p. 258, with other references.

³⁸ For Arab raids on the islet of Gymnopelagysion, a dependency of the Grand Lavra, in 993, see G. Rouillard and P. Collomp, *Actes de Laura*, 1 (Paris, 1937), pp. 30–35. Cf. P. Lemerle, "Esquisse pour une histoire agraire de Byzance," *Revue historique*, 220 (1958), p. 76. I am indebted to George C. Soulis for this reference. The locality has been identified as Pelagisi, a small island off Lemnos, by G. Ostrogorsky, "Une ambassade serbe auprès de l'empereur Basile II," *Byzantion*, 19 (1949), pp. 189–190.

³⁹ See the references in footnote 37, *supra*.

⁴⁰ F. W. Hasluck, *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929), p. 88; *idem*, *Athos and its Monasteries* (London, 1924), p. 165; Sydney Loch, *Athos: The Holy Mountain* (London, 1957), p. 172.

⁴¹ H. Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern*, 2nd ed. (Leipzig, 1924), p. 287; cf. Hasluck, *Athos*, p. 167, with the date 976 and a reference to the first edition of Brockhaus; Loch, *op. cit.*, p. 169 ("about 980"). Another legend concerns the icon called the Βηματάρισσα (or the Virgin of the Sacristan) in the monastery of Vatopedi, hidden in a well at the time of an Arab raid, perhaps in the second half of the ninth century: see R. M. Dawkins, *The Monks of Athos* (London, 1936), p. 289, and cf. F. W. Hasluck, "The first English Traveller's Account of Athos," *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 17 (1910–11), pp. 103–131, and Loch, *op. cit.*, pp. 158–159.

⁴² Theophanes Continuatus, III, 39 (Bonn ed., p. 137); cf. de Muralt, *op. cit.*, p. 413 (read "39" for "29"); Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 1, p. 90; Dawkins, *op. cit.*, p. 286.

⁴³ The basic source is of course John Cameniates' *De excidio Thessalonicensi* (Bonn ed., p. 487ff.). Setton, *AJA*, 58, p. 313, footnote 11, refers to the essential secondary authorities and commentaries. Struck, *loc. cit.* (*BZ*, 14 [1905], pp. 535–562) gives a detailed summary of Cameniates' account; see also a good brief summary by William Miller in his *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge, 1921), pp. 273–275. H. Grégoire has re-examined the Arab sources and fixed the correct Arabic spelling of Thessalonika (*Salūniqia*) in *Byzantion*, 22 (1952), pp. 373–378. The attack on Thessalonika was reportedly predicted by St. Elie of Sicily at Naupactos: see da Costa-Louillet in *Byzantion*, 29–30 (1959–60), p. 107.

parcelled out to the various leaders or were sold into slavery. At about the turn of the century the rich city of Demetrias (Volo today) was captured by Damianos and his company.⁴⁴

With the exception of a putative occupation of Athens in the period more or less between 896 and 902, to which, as I have said, I will revert later, this virtually completes the summary roster of recorded Arab depredations in the Aegean north of Crete.

As for Crete itself, that all-important strategic key to the evanescent but sporadically long-protracted Arab successes not only in the Aegean as well as in the Ionian and Adriatic Seas, the history of the definitive Arab conquest of the great island in 827 or 828 and of the Byzantine reconquest under Nicephoros Phocas 135 years later in 961, is not only too well known but also too complex to be reviewed here in any detail.⁴⁵ I need but remind the reader that after Arab raids on the island as early as the middle of the seventh century,⁴⁶ possible temporary occupations about 674,⁴⁷ and further raids in the eighth century,⁴⁸ a group of expatriate Arabs from Cordoba, who had occupied and

⁴⁴ Theophanes Continuatus, VI, 16 (Bonn ed., p. 364); Symeon Magister, *De Leone Basili F.*, 7 (Bonn ed., p. 703); Cameniates, 14 (Bonn ed., p. 506); Georgius Monachus, *De Leone Basili F.*, 22 (Bonn ed., p. 860). Cf. Hirsch, *op. cit.*, p. 71. Setton in *AJA*, 58, p. 313, footnote 10, has pointed out that the usually accepted date, 902 (e.g., Vasiliev in *Traditio*, 5, p. 175), should be corrected to 896 on the basis of Kampourogloύ's argument in his "Αλωσις" (see footnote 5, *supra*), pp. 126-128. See also F. Stählin, E. Meyer, and A. Heidner, *Pagasa und Demetrias* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1934), p. 211. Struck, *loc. cit.*, p. 539, also dates the event in 896. However, S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and his Reign* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 35, gives 902; and R. J. H. Jenkins, B. Laourdas, C. A. Mango, "Nine Orations of Arethas from Cod. Marc. Gr. 524," *BZ*, 47 (1954), p. 14, with reference to an allusion to military activities in Attica about this time, give 901 or 902.

For Damianos (Damiana, Dimyana, Dimnāna, etc.), see in addition to the usual Byzantine accounts of his activities (cf. footnote 32, *supra*), al-Tabari, III, pp. 2153, 2160-1, Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, ed. by Barbier de Meynard, VIII, p. 282; also R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Mission of St. Demetrianus of Cyprus to Baghdad," *Mélanges Henri Grégoire*, 1 (Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire orientales et slaves, 9 [1949], pp. 267-275). See also Grumel, *Échos d'Orient*, 35 (1936), pp. 34-36. For the general effects of the Arab raids, cf. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1961), 1, p. 213.

⁴⁵ The bibliography of the Arab conquest and occupation, of the Byzantine attempts to recapture the island, and of its final recovery is large, and I make no attempt to give it in detail on this occasion. As for the Arab conquest, the best general and critical accounts, after the pioneer works of Gibbon, Hopf, Hertzberg, Finlay, etc., are E. W. Brooks' "The Arab Occupation of Crete" in *English Historical Review*, 28 (1913), pp. 431-443, and Section 1 of Chapter 9 of J. B. Bury's *A History of the Eastern Roman Empire* (London, 1912). Mariano Gaspar Remiro's "Cordobeses musulmanes en Alejandria y Creta" in *Homenaje Codera* (Saragosa, 1904), pp. 217-233, is important, and of course Vasiliev's *Byzance et les Arabes*, 1, pp. 49-61, 270, 287, 431. Henri Grégoire, in a review of the latter work in *Byzantium*, 9 (1934), p. 806, points out that Brooks gives the correct date for the conquest, 827. The Arab sources are stressed in the articles "Crete" and "Abū Ḥafṣ 'Omar" in the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, and "Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar" in the second edition; in M. Amari, *Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia*, 2nd ed. (Catania, 1933), 1, p. 286ff.; and in É. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane*, 1 (Paris, 1950), pp. 172-173. The most comprehensive account in Greek is in I. B. Papadopoulos, 'Η Κρήτη ὑπὸ τοὺς Σαρακηνούς, *Texte und Forschungen zur Byzantinisch-Neugriechischen Philologie* (Athens, 1948); reviewed by M. G. Parlamas in *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 2 (1948), pp. 577-583. See also N. M. Panagiotakes, Ζητήματα τῆς κατακτήσεως τῆς Κρήτης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀράβων, in *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 15-16 (1961-1962), vol. 2 of the *Proceedings of the First Cretological Congress* (Herakleion), pp. 9-38; and N. Stavrinides, Εἰδήσεις ἀράβων ιστορικῶν περὶ τῆς ἀραβοκρατίας ἐν Κρήτῃ, in the same volume, pp. 74-83. Other references, relevant to particular points, will be found *infra*.

⁴⁶ Vasiliev, *Byzance et les Arabes*, 1, p. 52, footnote 3; *idem*, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, 1952), p. 212.

⁴⁷ Balādhuri, *Futūh*, ed. by de Goeje (Leiden, 1866), p. 236; cf. Yāqūt, *Mu'jam*, ed. by Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866), 1, p. 336. The implied date is approximately 54 H. (Dec. 673-Dec. 674).

⁴⁸ The same authorities: "in the time of al-Walid," i.e., 86-96 H./A.D. 705-715 and "during the Caliphate of Hārūn al-Rashīd," i.e., 170-193 H./A.D. 786-809.

terrorized Alexandria for nearly a decade, were forced to surrender to the 'Abbāsid general 'Abdullāh b. Tāhir. The story goes that their lives were to be spared on condition that they quit Egypt and go elsewhere, providing their destination was not a land already under 'Abbāsid domination. Their eyes fell on rich and fertile Crete, unoccupied by Islam. Abu-Hafṣ 'Umar and his followers landed probably on the south side of the island (not, as usually reported, in Suda Bay in the northwest),⁴⁹ and by the summer of 827 or 828 they had established themselves at al-Khandaq, "the ditch" in Arabic (Chandax in Greek, Venetian Candia, Herakleion of today), and were effectively in possession of the entire island. While the history of the landing is relatively well documented in Arabic and Byzantine sources, and the ejection by Nicephoros Phocas is recounted in some rather fanciful detail, particularly by Theodosios Diakonos,⁵⁰ and while we have a good deal of information about several unsuccessful Byzantine efforts to recover the island,⁵¹ our knowledge of the internal history of the Arab amirate of Crete is exceedingly meagre.

My concern here is with this obscure internal history. We have a few names: some provided by Greek written sources, Apokhaps, Saīpis, Babdel, Zerkounis, Kouroupas, and Anemas (fig. A);⁵² some from Arabic sources: Abu-Hafṣ 'Umar was the grandson of Shu'ayb the Cordoban, he had a son named Shu'ayb, and the last of the amirs was 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Shu'ayb (fig. B).⁵³ In figure C an attempt is made to equate the Greek and Arab names and to reconcile the genealogies insofar as they can be reconstructed from the written sources—ending with Anemas (Arabic an-Nu'mān?), the son of the last amir, taken prisoner by Nicephoros Phocas and in 972 killed while fighting on the Byzantine side against the Russians.⁵⁴ Figure D represents another line of descent from Abu-

⁴⁹ I am convinced that Gibbon's identification of Theophanes Cont.'s ἀκρωτηρίῳ τῷ Χάρακι with Suda (cf. Brooks, *op. cit.*, p. 440) is a guess and an error. Among other things, it is unlikely that the Arabs, coming from Alexandria, would have landed in the northwest part of the island and that the apostate monk who guided them after their landing would have led them all the way from Suda Bay to the site which was to become Chandax. Much more likely would have been a landing on the south coast or in Mirabello Bay. But a full discussion of the problem would lead to too long an excursus here.

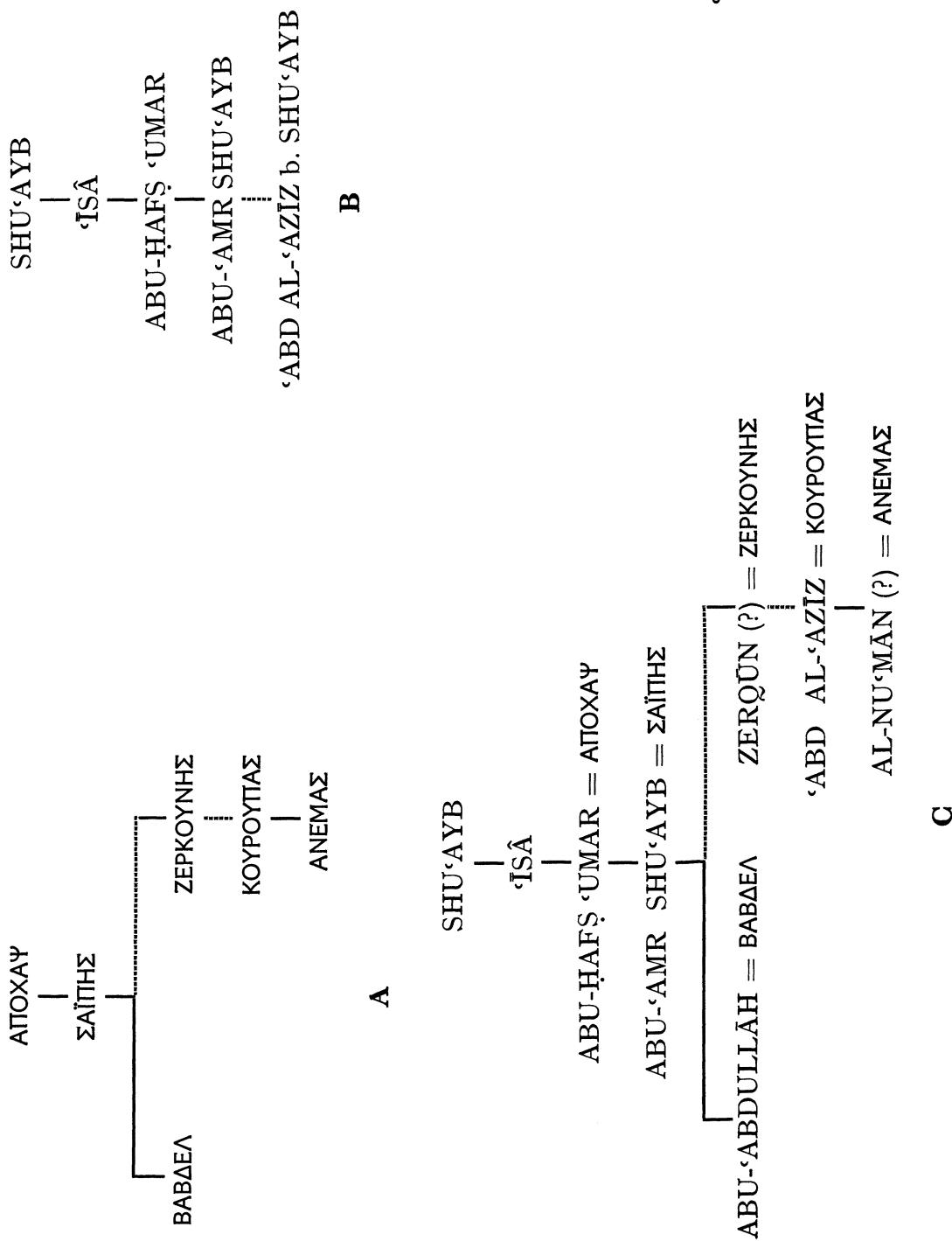
⁵⁰ The bibliography relating to the reconquest is perhaps even larger than that of the Arab capture of the island. At this time I cite only the new definitive edition of and commentary on Theodosios Diakonos' "Αλωσις τῆς Κρήτης" by N. M. Panagiota, Θεοδόσιος διάκονος καὶ τὸ ποίημα αὐτοῦ "Αλωσις τῆς Κρήτης" (Herakleion, 1960), and Gustave Schlumberger's classic and delightful *Un empereur byzantin au dixième siècle—Nicéphore Phocas* (1st ed. [Paris, 1890], pp. 32–114; 2nd ed. [Paris, 1923], pp. 25–93).

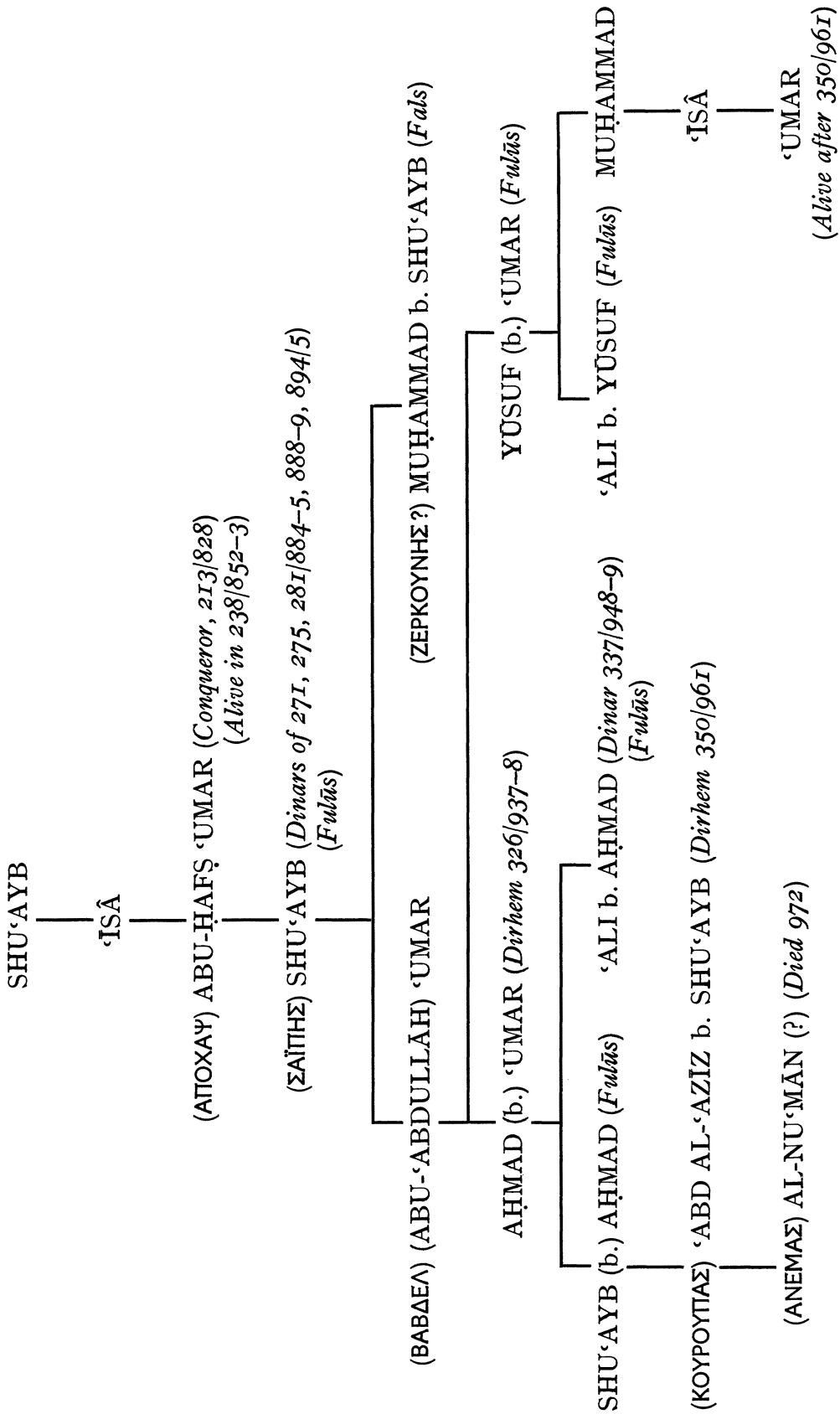
⁵¹ By Photinos, Craterus and Ooryphas soon after the Arab conquest, by Theoctistus in 843, under Michael III in 866, by Himerios early in the tenth century, probably 911–912 (recent discussions of this date by R. J. H. Jenkins in *Mélanges Grégoire*, 1, in his "The Date of Leo VI's Cretan Expedition," *Mélanges St. P. Kyriakides* [1953], p. 277ff., and with Laourdas and Mango in "Nine Orations . . .," *BZ*, 47, p. 8), and finally in 949 by Constantine Gongyles (cf. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* [Oxford, 1956], p. 250).

⁵² See especially Hirsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 136–137, for the names in the Greek sources.

⁵³ Mediaeval Arab authorities admit to some confusion over the question of whether the conqueror was 'Umar b. Shu'ayb or Shu'ayb b. 'Umar (see al-Humaydi, جذوة المقبس في ذكر ولاة الاندلس, [Cairo ed., 1371 H.], p. 283, and cf. Brooks, *op. cit.*, pp. 438–439), but I imagine the difficulty is to be explained by the omission of abu-Hafṣ' father 'Isā from the genealogy. See fig. B, *infra*.

⁵⁴ For the name Kouroupas, see Ph. Koukoules, in 'Επιστημονική 'Επετηρίς τῆς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν, 4 (1953–54), p. 66; and for Anemas, see Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, 1st ed., p. 112, and *idem*, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*, 1 (Paris, 1896), p. 135; cf. Ph. Koukoules, Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καὶ Πολιτισμός, 6 (Athens, 1955), p. 452.





Ḥafṣ derived from the mention, by a source used by al-Ḥimyari, of a certain ‘Umar, a man of literary rather than piratical propensities who, while a captive of the Byzantines, devoted his leisure time in prison in Constantinople to the composition of a work on “the meanings and marvels of the Qur’ān.”⁵⁵

So much, for the moment, for the written record. It is at this point that a quite recently developed body of evidence comes into play. Scattered throughout the world in public and private collections are a few coins which can now with complete confidence be attributed to the Arab amirs of Crete.⁵⁶ The very fact that the amirs issued coinage not only in bronze but also in silver and gold⁵⁷ gives us quite a different impression from that heretofore taken for granted of the political, economic, and cultural state of these Agarene “pirates.” Unfortunately, the coins are chronologically not of as much value as they might be, as the bronze which constitutes the bulk of the preserved numismatic evidence is not dated. On the other hand, the gold dinars, which are very scarce, are dated—for example the specimen illustrated in figure 3, a dinar of Shu‘ayb’s of the year 281 H./A.D. 894;⁵⁸ as are the silver dirhems, but, regrettably, I know of only two of this denomination, one of them (fig. 5) found, of all places, in a Viking hoard in Gotland, dated in the year of Nicephoros Phocas’ reconquest, 350 H./A.D. 961, and struck in the name of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Shu‘ayb, the Kouroupas of the Byzantine historians.⁵⁹

As I have said, none of the bronze coinage is actually dated, but it is of more than casual interest and value for two reasons. For one thing, specimens of this coinage (examples illustrated in figs. 7 and 8)⁶⁰ have turned up in a number of localities in Crete,⁶¹ a circumstance not only confirming the accuracy of their attribution to the amirs, but also indicative to some extent of the depth and breadth of the Arab occupation. Provenances so far registered (and the record surely is very incomplete) are: Herakleion itself,⁶² nearby Phoinikia⁶³ (mentioned incidentally by Theodosios Diakonos in his first “recitation”),⁶⁴

⁵⁵ See É. Lévi-Provençal, “Une description arabe inédite de la Crète,” in *Studi orientalistici in onore di Giorgio Levi Della Vida*, 2 (Rome, 1956), p. 54.

⁵⁶ Coins of the amirs of Crete were first identified by John Walker in the *Numismatic Chronicle* (1953), pp. 125–130. Since then, others have been identified and published by Mrs. Welin and by the writer (see *infra*), and by A. Bykov, *Сообщения Государственного Эрмитажа*, 13 (1958), pp. 65–67.

⁵⁷ Gold mining in Crete is alluded to by al-Dimishqi (d. A.D. 1327): cf. D. M. Dunlop, “Sources of Gold and Silver in Islam according to al-Hamdāni,” in *Studia Islamica*, 8 (1957), p. 32. As Dunlop observes, “Gold-mining in Crete, if a fact, should be due to Muslim initiative.”

⁵⁸ In the collection of Dr. Paul Balog. The illustration is enlarged; the actual diameter is 22 mm., the weight, 4.14 grams.

⁵⁹ Ulla S. Linder Welin, “The First Known Dirham of the Amirs of Crete,” *Numismatic Chronicle* (1955), pp. 211–214.

⁶⁰ Fig. 7, with the name of Shu‘ayb alone (American Numismatic Society, on permanent loan from the University Museum, Philadelphia); Fig. 8, with the names of ‘Umar and Shu‘ayb (Herakleion Archaeological Museum, no. 13).

⁶¹ See G. C. Miles, “A Recent Find of Coins of the Amirs of Crete,” *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 9 (1955), pp. 149–151, *idem*, “Coins of the Amirs of Crete in the Herakleion Museums,” *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 10 (1956), pp. 365–371, and *idem*, “Arabic Epigraphical Survey in Crete,” *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society* (1956), p. 346.

⁶² See the references in the preceding note and in G. C. Miles, “A Provisional Reconstruction of the Genealogy of the Arab Amirs of Crete,” *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 15–16 (1961–1962), vol. 2 of the *Proceedings of the First Cretological Congress*, p. 64.

⁶³ Miles, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 10, p. 368, no. 8.

⁶⁴ Panagiotakes, *Θεοδόσιος δι Διάκονος*, 1, line 172 (p. 100).

Gortyna, the Byzantine capital at the time of the Arab conquest,⁶⁵ Avdou in the high Lasithi Valley,⁶⁶ Vianos above the south coast,⁶⁷ Vizari in the mountains west of Mt. Ida,⁶⁸ Pantanassa southwest of Arkadi Monastery,⁶⁹ Rethymno,⁷⁰ and the neighboring mountain village of Yannoudi.⁷¹

Even more important is the fact that these humble bronze coins have revealed several hitherto unrecorded names, such as 'Ali b. Yūsuf (fig. 9), 'Ali b. Aḥmad (fig. 10),⁷² Shu'ayb b. Aḥmad, Muḥammad b. Shu'ayb, and others. The task of reconstructing a composite genealogy of the amirs of Crete from the evidence of these coins and the sketchy testimony of the Greek and Arab writers is not an easy one, and there are doubtless many flaws in the preliminary attempt represented by figure E.⁷³ Were all these men related? Where the names of two individuals appear on a single coin, was one the son or the father of the other; did they rule simultaneously or was one the heir designate? Where are we to put Nisiris, the commander of the fleet in the raid on Paros, or was he not one of the paramount amirs? And so on and on. Even more critical is the question whether there were rival or independent Arab factions on the island. We have a hint in a few lines toward the end of Theodosios Diakonos' account of the reconquest that this may have been the case: in the last days of the siege of Khandaq, "Cretans, *not* rulers of the land but inhabitants of crags and caves, descended from the mountains." Their leader was Karamountes (δ Καραμούντης), "the old man steeped in slaughter, the young dragon of olden days, the one who purposed through all his life to hold the Cretans in reign."⁷⁴

Such considerations as these discourage positive conclusions based on the present evidence, but, setting aside the details, the important thing is that the coins clearly indicate that the Arabs who occupied Crete were not all pirates, that there existed a more or less orderly political regime and succession, and that local trade was facilitated by a monetary system of three metals and quite respectable workmanship. Furthermore, a few scattered allusions in Arabic literature suggest that the culture of the Cretan principality was not

⁶⁵ Found in the Italian excavations. Photograph kindly furnished me by Professor Doro Levi.

⁶⁶ Examined at the Archaeological Museum in Herakleion in December 1958; provenance communicated to me by Mr. Stylianos Alexiou.

⁶⁷ Identified in the Gymnasium there in April 1956.

⁶⁸ From K. Kalokyres' excavations of a Byzantine basilica in 1958; examined and identified by me in Herakleion, December 1958: see τὸ Ἐργὸν τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας for 1958 (Athens, 1959), p. 180, and *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 13 (1959), pp. 31–32.

⁶⁹ In the possession of Pro-Hegoumenos Dionysios Psarroundakis in April 1956; cf. Miles, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 15–16, 2, p. 66.

⁷⁰ Eight specimens in the museum there, examined and identified in April 1956 (*ibid.*, pp. 64–66).

⁷¹ In the possession of Gen. G. S. Gioulountas (*ibid.*, p. 64).

⁷² Fig. 9 (Herakleion Archaeological Museum, no. 17); fig. 10 (Rethymno Museum).

⁷³ Published in Miles, *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 15–16, 2, p. 70.

⁷⁴ Panagiotakes' edition, IV, lines 33–36 (p. 118); his name appears again in IV, line 120. He was almost certainly a Cretan, the leader of other chieftains outside the capital (IV, line 6), and he was called ἀμπρᾶς (IV, line 134). Cf. Panagiotakes' commentary, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–74. Schlumberger (*Empereur*, pp. 82–83) calls Karamountes "le brillant émir des Sarrasins de Tarse, l'ancien adversaire de Nicéphore Phocas en Asie," but Marius Canard (*Histoire de la dynastie des H'andani des H'andani de Jazira et de Syrie*, 1 [Paris, 1953], p. 800), while admitting the possibility of an identity between Karamountes and an amir of Tarsus named Karamones (according to Cedrenus, II, 340), leaves the question open.—I am indebted to my friend George L. Kustas for help with the translation of the passage cited above.

entirely material. There was a *qādi* of Crete named al-Fath b. al-'Alā'; al-Himyari preserves the names of several learned Arab Cretans of Andalusian origin recorded by an earlier writer: Ishāq b. Sālim, Mūsa b. 'Abd al-Malik, Muḥammad b. 'Umar, Ismā'īl b. Badr and his son Muḥammad and his grandson Ismā'īl, who died in the Byzantine reconquest.⁷⁵ Ibn al-Faraḍī in his *Kitāb Ta'rīkh 'Ulamā' al-Andalus*⁷⁶ speaks of individuals who went to Crete to study under scholars there. Yāqūt mentions a traditionalist by the name of Muḥammad b. 'Isā abu-Bakr al-Iqrītishi.⁷⁷ We know of at least one prominent 'Abbāsid vizier, Aḥmad b. al-Khaṣīb, who was exiled to Crete a generation after the Arab conquest.⁷⁸

Most unfortunately, with the exception of the coins, the Arab occupation appears to have left almost no archaeological remains. The destruction following Nicephoros Phocas' victory must have been very great, but it is hard to understand why so far not even a single gravestone has come to light.⁷⁹ They must exist; obviously not of the last generation, but of those preceding. No mosque has survived.⁸⁰ The traces of the Arab walls of Khandaq are obscured by later Byzantine and Venetian Turkish fortifications.⁸¹ A few toponyms of Arab origin are recognizable: there are remains of a bridge built by a certain Abu-Salīm over a stream still known as the Aposelemis Potamos, flowing down from Avdou (where one of the coins was found) into the sea near Khersonesos, east of Herakleion;⁸² the word Atsipas, Atsipades, referring to Cretan Arabs, and the village name Atsipopoulon⁸³ may perhaps derive from *hadjib*; many topographical names composed with *Sarakina*, *tou Sarakinou*, etc., probably refer to the Arabs, but memories are very dim: the waterfront at Hierapetra on the south coast is still referred to as Sarakina (why? "the Saracens came from

⁷⁵ See Lévi-Provençal, *loc. cit.*, in footnote 55.

⁷⁶ Ed. by F. Codera, *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispana*, VIII (Madrid, 1890-1892), 1, pp. 411-412; 2, pp. 6, 54.

⁷⁷ Yāqūt, I, p. 337.

⁷⁸ In 248 H./A.D. 862: Maṣ'ūdi, *Mu'āj*, 7, ed. by Barbier de Meynard (Paris, 1873), p. 325. For the career of this man, who incidentally was a person of particularly luxurious tastes, see Dominique Sourdel, *Le Vizirat 'Abbāside de 749 à 936*, 1 (Damascus, 1959), *passim* and esp. pp. 287-289, with full documentation.

⁷⁹ I have myself searched widely and in vain (cf. *Year Book of the American Philosophical Society* [1956], pp. 344-345). There are, of course, thousands of Turkish gravestones.

⁸⁰ Churches that had been converted into mosques during the Arab domination were reconsecrated at the time of the famous mission of Nicon who came to the island to preach and proselytize after the reconquest: cf. da Costa-Louillet in *Byzantium*, 31 (1961), p. 351. For an interesting later commentary on the hardships of the Arabs who remained behind, see the remarks of Ibn Jubayr (ed. by William Wright, *E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Series*, 5 [Leyden-London, 1907], p. 342; trans. by R. J. C. Broadhurst, *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr* [London, 1952], p. 359; and cf. Michele Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula*, 1 [Turin-Rome, 1880], pp. 178-179).

⁸¹ Cf. N. Platon in *Κρητικά Χρονικά*, 4 (1950), pp. 353-360, and 6 (1952), pp. 439-459. See also a series of thirteen articles by N. Stavrinides entitled Τὸ Εώπορτο ἔχαλασσε in the Herakleion newspaper Ποτρίς, May 5-19, 1960. A portion of the fortification walls at Gortyna is probably Arab. Cf. G. Gerola, *Monumenti Veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 1 (Venice, 1905), p. 71.

⁸² Cf. R. M. Dawkins, "The Place-names of Later Greece," *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London, 1933), p. 22; N. B. Tomadakes, Προβλήματα τῆς ἐν Κρήτῃ ὀρθοκροτίας (826-961 μ.Χ.), in *EEBΣ*, 30 (1960), pp. 31-32. I suspect that a good many of the topographical names listed by Tomadakes are survivals of the Turkish rather than of the Arab occupation.

⁸³ Cf. Tomadakes, *loc. cit.*, p. 7 and the references there, and p. 31. My friend Nikolaos Stavriniades of Herakleion has drawn my attention to three other villages in Crete named 'Ατσιπάδαις.

this direction"), a hamlet I once visited in the mountains of southwestern Crete is called Sarakina (why? "people fled from the coast because the Saracens were coming").⁸⁴ Even the Arabs' war cry in the last agony of their defence of Khandaq is obscured in the unintelligible transcription of Theodosios Diakonos (II, 77–78): Σεήπφ ἔχειμάτι ἰσχαρόπι καὶ τὴν ῥάσαν σερμήτι μιδήνη καὶ χάπτι πτφησάνη!⁸⁵

At the time of the reconquest Khandaq must have been a veritable treasure-house of objects of art and luxury, gathered in innumerable raids on both Christian and Moslem lands. Leo Diakonos (II, 8) gives us a vivid impression of the fabulous booty displayed on the occasion of Nicephoros' triumphal return to Constantinople: precious metals, including νόμισμα βαρβαρικὸν of gold of purest alloy, gold-embroidered robes and textiles, exquisite objects gleaming with jewels, beautifully worked arms and armor of all sorts.⁸⁶ Where are all these treasures now? Most have vanished altogether, but some surely are among the objects scattered throughout Europe in museums and church treasuries, brought home from Constantinople by Crusaders and merchants. One wonders how much escaped the victorious Byzantine army and, hidden, remained in Crete only to be rediscovered and carried off by Venetians after the Fourth Crusade. The pathetic void of material remains of Arab Cretan prosperity enhances the value of one little treasure that has survived. I find something appealingly romantic in two pairs of almost identically ornamented earrings in the Hélène Stathatos Collection (fig. 11)⁸⁷ now in the National Museum in Athens, found in a tenth-century hoard of coins and jewelry in Crete—one pair bearing in Kufic the name of Zaynab, the other that of 'Ā'isha, two wives perhaps of some wealthy and wise Cretan Arab whose right hand knew what his left was doing.

II

These pretty earrings, faintly recalling the wealth and luxury of Crete in the Arab heyday, prompt me to leave the dim archaeological record of the island and to return to the Aegean and the Greek mainland to speak of the visible traces of Arab presence and influence there. So far as the former—that is, the archaeological evidence of their actual physical presence—is concerned, I trust I shall be forgiven for making the most of the very little there is. In the

⁸⁴ In 1956 Mrs. Sosos Logiadou-Platonos kindly permitted me to examine the large card index of Cretan place names being compiled at the Historical Museum in Herakleion. I noted seventeen villages with the name Σαρακήνα or Σαρακήνας, fifteen with the name Σαρακινός, six with the name Σαρακήνικα or Σαρακήνικο, and many other site names such as Σαρακηνοῦ Τρόχαλος (pile of stones), Σαρακηνοῦ Βόλακος (clod of earth?), Σαρακηνόβιγλα (lookout post), etc., etc.

⁸⁵ One might guess at faint echoes of Arabic *sayf* (sword), *ghazāh* or *ghāzi* (attack, warrior) or *rā's* (head), *madīnah* (city). Cf. Panagiotakes, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

⁸⁶ Cf. Schlumberger, *Empereur*, pp. 111–112. Symeon Magister (Bonn ed., p. 760) describes the procession of captives in Constantinople.

⁸⁷ Étienne Coche de la Ferté, *Collection Hélène Stathatos, Les objets byzantines et post-byzantines* (Limoges, 1957), pp. 18–26. The pair of earrings illustrated in fig. 11 is nos. 5A and 5B (pl. 11, bis), bearing the inscription رَبَّهُ مَنْ أَلْصَاحَهُ زَيْنَبْ, "blessing from Allāh on the owner, Zaynab." These earrings were acquired later than the hoard, but there is virtually no doubt that they came from the same source as the other two which were found with coins of Michael II and Theophilus, and of Constantine VII.

first place, there are again a few coins: three bronze *fulūs* of the amirs of Crete among the scores of thousands of coins found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora, one of Shu'ayb, one of 'Ali b. Aḥmad, and one of Shu'ayb b. Aḥmad (?), all datable from the second half of the ninth century to the first quarter of the tenth, a few others of the same period observed in the junk shops of Pandrossou Street in Athens; then, scattered through the Corinth excavations eight *fulūs* of the Cretan amirs, and a few Umayyad and 'Abbāsid coppers and curious imitations, probably of the ninth century;⁸⁸ a dirhem, provenance unknown but I assume from Greek soil, struck in A.D. 326 H./937-8 in the name of Aḥmad (b.) 'Umar (fig. 6, and see fig. E);⁸⁹ and a gold dinar (fig. 4) *probably* found near Xanthi in Macedonia⁹⁰ and struck by one of those otherwise unremembered amirs of Crete—'Ali b. Aḥmad—whose coppers have appeared in Crete, Athens, and Corinth, and whose name I have tried to insert in the genealogy about the fifth decade of the tenth century.

Then there is the epigraphical record. So far as true Arabic inscriptions are concerned, the corpus is minute, fragmentary, and enigmatic. I know of only four genuine Arabic inscriptions in the Aegean area. One is a crude graffito, undated, on a plinth in the Stoa of Philippos on the island of Delos (fig. 12).⁹¹ I am not sure what it says: "May Allāh have mercy [?] on 'Ubayd ibn Yūmus [Būmus? Tōmas?], a Greek patronymic probably], al- Ḥamani [Jamali? Khamabi?],"—even his *nisbah* or name of origin is equivocal. The date certainly is in the ninth or tenth century, and one would assume he was one of my semi-literate pirates. The second is a marble impost or molding (fig. 13) bearing part of the 112th *sūrah* of the Qur'ān in good but simple Kufic characters, now preserved in the garden of the Museum in Khalkis on the island of Euboea.⁹² Unfortunately, no one now knows its provenance, but there is no doubt that it came from nearby, and we recall the ninth-century raids on Khalkis. In a

⁸⁸ In a paper entitled "The Circulation of Islamic Coinage of the 8th-12th Centuries in Greece," read at the International Numismatic Congress in Rome in September 1961, I endeavored to bring together all the relevant numismatic evidence known to me at that time. This paper will appear in the printed proceedings of that congress, in proof stage in December 1963. The coins of the amirs of Crete found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora have been published in vol. IX of *The Athenian Agora* (Princeton, 1962), nos. 1-3.

⁸⁹ This unique coin in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul, was published, but not illustrated, by Ismā'il Ghālib in *Meshkūhāt-i Qadime-i Islāmiyye*, I (Constantinople, 1312 H./A.D. 1894), no. 677. I am responsible for the proposed attribution to an amir of Crete; see my argument in *Κρητικά Χρονικά* 15-16, 2, pp. 66-67. I examined and photographed the coin in Istanbul in May 1963.

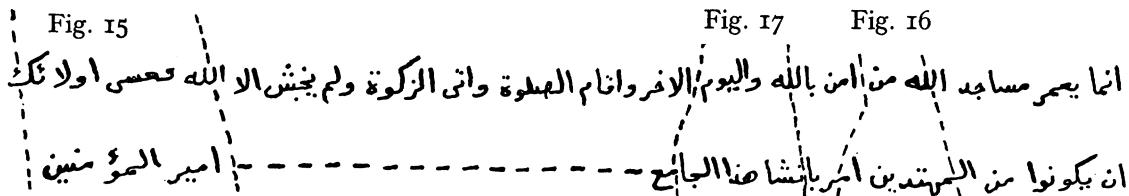
⁹⁰ This coin has a curious history. It was acquired by the American Numismatic Society in 1951 (ANS 51.175) from a gentleman who brought it to the museum for identification. At the time, I had no reason to associate this dinar with the amirs of Crete (in fact at that time their coinage was unknown), but subsequently, struck by certain peculiar characteristics of the coin and the identity of the name with that on coppers found in Crete, I succeeded in locating the former owner and determined that the coin had come to him from his father-in-law, a native of Xanthi.

⁹¹ See René Vallois, *Exploration archéologique de Délos, Les portiques au sud du Hiéron, 1ère partie, Le portique de Philippe* (Paris, 1923), pp. 166-169, fig. 232 (a squeeze). I am indebted to James R. McCredie for the photograph reproduced in fig. 12, and to Arthur Steinberg for a drawing of the graffito.

⁹² The side illustrated bears the words اَللّٰهُ اَحَدٌ اَللّٰهُ اَكْبَرٌ, "Say, he Allāh is one, Allāh is t[he Eternal]." The adjoining finished side of the stone (measuring 29x8x8 cm.) continues the quotation اَللّٰهُ اَكْبَرٌ. The piece bears the inventory number 1153, but the *epimeletria*, Miss Andriamenou, in charge of the museum in 1958, told me that the register contains no record of the provenance, the stone having been brought to the museum before a systematic inventory was begun.

few moments I will speak of other later traces of Arab influence on the island. The third could not be more frustrating. Among the myriad stones found in the excavations at Corinth are two small marble fragments (of which one is illustrated in fig. 14) on which are preserved a few letters, genuine Kufic of the ninth or tenth century, not imitation Kufic; but only the tops of the letters remain, and there are few things that can tell you less than the vertical terminations of Kufic letters.⁹³

Finally, the excavations in the Athenian Agora produced one small fragment, carved on Hymettian marble, of a carefully executed Kufic inscription (fig. 15), which, if there were time, would lead to a long digression, as it seems to provide the evidence for an Arab presence, let us call it, in Athens itself, of which we have only the faintest, controversial hints in the written sources.⁹⁴ It was found in the debris of the southeast corner of the Agora, near the Church of the Holy Apostles; but this means nothing. It might originally have come from the other side of the Acropolis. The lower line contains the words *amīr al-mu'minīn*, "the Commander of the Faithful" (that is, the Caliph), implying that we have here a historical inscription; and the upper line a few words from the eighteenth verse of the ninth *sūrah* of the Qur'ān. The latter provides the clue which makes it possible to identify this fragment as part of an inscription of which two other fragments are known: one preserved in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (no. 315, fig. 16), and the other, probably found in the area of the Asklepieion, now lost, but fortunately photographed a half century or more ago (fig. 17). These fragments are to be joined as in this reconstructed transcription: the Agora fragment on the left, the lost fragment in the middle, and the Byzantine Museum piece on the right:



The lost fragment contains the words *hadha'l-djāmi'*, "this mosque"; missing immediately after this would be the name of the individual who probably bore a title which indicated a political or protocolary relationship with the Caliph—which Caliph must be in doubt, the 'Abbāsid Caliph in Baghdad, the Fātimid Caliph in Egypt, or even, though much less likely, the Umayyad Caliph in Spain.

⁹³ The fragment illustrated is no. 919 of the Epigraphical Inventory of the Corinth Excavations of the American School of Classical Studies. It was found on June 23, 1928, in the excavations of the Byzantine church near the Cenchrean Gate, "in the south nave not very far from the west end of the east apse." It measures approximately 22 cm. in length. I am indebted to Demetrios I. Pallas for bringing the piece to my attention.

⁹⁴ I have discussed this inscription at some length in an article entitled "The Arab Mosque in Athens," *Hesperia*, 25 (1956), pp. 329-344.

Presumably there was a date at the end of the inscription, but, in addition to the unhappy fact of its loss, the style of the epigraphy is not, unfortunately, sufficiently characteristic (or let us say individualistic) to enable us to estimate the date or the "school" within close limits. All we can say is that it is plus or minus A.D. 1000, probably minus, and almost certainly after 961. The conclusion to be drawn is that at some date, probably in the second half of the tenth century, there was a settlement or colony of Muslim Arabs, more likely artisans or traders than raiders, resident in Athens. Although the epigraphy of this inscription is not, as I have said, precisely datable, I must call attention to certain characteristics, especially the *mīm*s with surmounting club-like ornaments (see especially the lower line of fig. 15), quite closely resembling the letters on the bronze ewer in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (no. 52 in the recently published catalogue).⁹⁵ In fact, this ewer with its Christian iconography and its alleged Eleusinian provenance and its two bands of Kufic inscription, may well be a crucial document in support of a hypothesis: namely, that after the reconquest of Crete, if not before, there were Arab artisans in Greece who left their mark on local Byzantine minor arts and architectural ornament. Of particular significance is the fact that the inscription around the neck of the ewer (fig. 18) is in legible and literate Arabic, whereas the lower band (fig. 19) consists of a meaningless simulation of ornamental Kufic—what I choose to call "Kufesque."⁹⁶

It is with Kufesque or pseudo-Kufic, and with other ornamental motifs of Islamic derivation that the rest of this paper will be concerned.⁹⁷ I do not by any means intend to imply that *all* the Islamic-derived ornament of the tenth

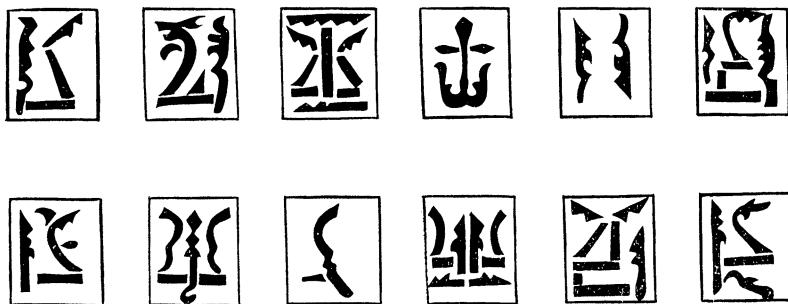
⁹⁵ *Catalogue of the Byzantine and early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, I, Marvin C. Ross, *Metalwork, Ceramics, Glass, Glyptics, Painting* (Washington, D.C., 1962): D.O. 39.11. A fragment of a similar vessel with an archangel medallion almost identical with that on the Dumbarton Oaks ewer has recently been acquired by the Royal Ontario Museum (No. 962.171.3). Unfortunately neither the neck nor the foot is preserved. The piece was purchased in Istanbul, but nothing is known of its original provenance.

⁹⁶ Actually there are mistakes in the epigraphy of the neck-band, implying perhaps a semi-literate engraver or a non-Arab imitator, but I believe the intention was to inscribe the words reproduced in the catalogue, p. 48 (they should be corrected to read *barakah shāmilah wa-sa'ādah*; and in the band at the foot, read *al-ghā, al-qā, al-mā*).

⁹⁷ While simulated Kufic ornament in Christian art in western Europe has received quite wide notice (e.g., Kurt Erdmann, "Arabische Schriftzeichen als Ornamente in der abendländischen Kunst des Mittelalters," in *Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur in Mainz* [1953], no. 9, pp. 467–513, with full bibliography), relatively little attention has been paid to its manifestations in Byzantine art and architecture. To be sure, many writers such as J. Strzygowski, O. M. Dalton, G. Millet, C. Diehl, D. Talbot Rice, André Grabar, *et al.*, have mentioned the phenomenon in discussing Oriental influences in Byzantine art, but only one Byzantine art historian has so far attempted to deal with the matter in any detail. This is G. A. Soteriou, Director Emeritus of the Byzantine Museum in Athens, who has devoted two articles to the subject: 'Αραβικαὶ διακοσμήσεις εἰς τὸ βυζαντινὸν μνημεῖον τῆς Ἑλλάδος in 'Απόσπασμα ἐκ τῶν Πρακτικῶν τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἐταιρείας (1935), pp. 57–95 (also in *Berichte der Christlich-Archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Athen, Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher* [1935], pp. 233–260), hereafter referred to simply as "Soteriou"; and (less important) 'Αραβικὰ λείψανα ἐν Ἀθήναις κατὰ τοὺς βυζαντινοὺς χρόνους in 'Απόσπασμα ἐκ τῶν Πρακτικῶν τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν (1929), pp. 266–272. A recent contribution by S. D. T. Spittle entitled "Cufic Lettering in Christian Art" (*Archaeological Journal*, London, 111 [1955], pp. 138–152) draws chiefly on Soteriou's articles insofar as Byzantine examples are concerned. Of major importance with respect to the use of cut-brick for pseudo-Kufic ornament in Byzantine architecture in Greece is H. Megaw's "The Chronology of Some Middle-Byzantine Churches" (*Annual of the British School at Athens*, 32 [1931–32], pp. 90–130), hereafter referred to simply as

to thirteenth centuries in Greece was executed by artisans from Moslem lands (obviously most of it was not), but I do believe it possible that some of the earliest of it was. There is a very considerable corpus of this material, and on this occasion we can take only a synoptic look at it. As a point of departure, I would like to go back to the peaceful scene of Hosios Loukas in the mountains of Phocis, and as we roam about Greece I suggest that the recurrence of the names of certain localities mentioned in the introductory historical sketch may be more than coincidental.

Not long after the death of St. Luke in 953, in any case by the early eleventh century, two churches and eventually a monastery were built on the site of his hermitage and his tomb.⁹⁸ One, originally dedicated to St. Barbara, in due course became the Katholikon as we know it today; the other, immediately adjoining it to the north, of approximately the same date, is now known as the Theotokos. The view in figure 20 shows the east end of the Katholikon on the left and the church dedicated to the Virgin on the right. These churches, as is well known, with their mosaics and sculptured decoration, are among the most important middle Byzantine remains in Greece, but our concern here is, of course, only with those ornamental elements which are of Islamic origin. There is a nice irony in the fact that both churches, whose existence we owe ultimately to St. Luke, are richly endowed with such ornament (in several media), inspired by the co-religionists of those very Arabs who harassed the holy man's forebears and in effect were responsible for his retirement to this isolated spot.



F. Hosios Loukas. Motifs of Cut-brick Ornament

"Megaw". A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse Byzantin*, p. 78, footnote 1, gives a good, brief bibliography of the subject.

For some time I have been engaged in collecting material for what I hope may be a comprehensive treatment of the subject of Islamic influence on Byzantine art and architecture in Greece. Preliminary reports include: "Material for a Corpus of Architectural Ornament of Islamic Derivation in Byzantine Greece," *Year Book of The American Philosophical Society* (1959), pp. 486-490; "Islamic Influence on Byzantine Architectural Ornament in Greece" (unpublished paper read at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Ann Arbor, April 10, 1959); "Additions to the Corpus of Byzantine Architectural Ornament of Islamic Derivation in Greece" (unpublished paper read at the annual meeting of the American Oriental Society in Philadelphia, March 30, 1961); and "Classification of Islamic Elements in Byzantine Architectural Ornament in Greece" (unpublished paper presented *in absentia* at the Twelfth International Congress of Byzantine Studies at Ochrid in September 1961).

⁹⁸ For the monastery and churches of Hosios Loukas, see the works of Diehl, Schultz and Barnsley, and others cited in footnote 8, *supra*, and also G. Soteriou, in *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον*, 6 (1920/21), p. 181 ff., Ch. Papadopoulos, in *Θεολογία*, 13 (1935), pp. 193-223, O. Wulff, "Das Katholikon von Hosios Loukas und verwandte byzantinische Kirchenbauten," *Die Baukunst*, Ser. II, Heft 11 (herausgegeben von R. Borrmann & R. Graul, no date), and Megaw, *op. cit.* in the preceding footnote.

The east end of the Theotokos is elaborately decorated with cut-brick Kufesque letters, both isolated in the mortar between brick courses and in continuous ceramoplastic friezes (fig. 21). Some idea of the repertory of cut-brick ornament at Hosios Loukas is conveyed by the drawings in figure F. These motifs, in what I would call their pure form, were popular during a relatively limited period, starting in the first quarter of the eleventh century and ending about the beginning of the twelfth. The geographical distribution is quite wide but the greatest concentration is in Attica, Boeotia, and the Argolid. I illustrate a few other examples: the Church of the Holy Apostles in Athens (fig. 22), datable to the early years of the eleventh century;⁹⁹ the little Church of the Kapnikaraea on Hermes Street (fig. 23),¹⁰⁰ where Kufesque letters fill the spandrels of the window arches on the west façade (note the imitation *kāfs*, both frontwards and backwards), and other pseudo-Kufic letters with sweeping tails ornament the masonry under the gables; Sotera Lykodemou (fig. 24),¹⁰¹ also in Athens, much restored, but where fine ceramoplastic friezes have been accurately reconstructed or isolated letters are preserved as on the Holy Apostles; the famous monastery Church of Daphne, on several parts of the exterior, figure 25 showing the south end of the exterior of the narthex;¹⁰² and in the Argolid on the little Church of Ag. Ioannes Eleemon at Ligourio (fig. 26),¹⁰³ a good example of addorsed Kufesque letters now combined with the cross; at Khonika, also in the Argolid (fig. 27);¹⁰⁴ and a terracotta plaque, of a different style, on the Church of Ag. Kharalampos at Kalamata in Messania (fig. G).¹⁰⁵ Farthest afield is the Church of SS. Jason and Sosipater in Corfu, with plentiful examples of both isolated letter groups and continuous friezes (fig. 28).¹⁰⁶ At

⁹⁹ I make no effort on this occasion to record the full bibliographies of the various monuments mentioned in the ensuing pages, and limit myself to a few important citations, especially where there are detailed illustrations. General views of many of these monuments have frequently been reproduced. References to Soteriou are to his 'Αραβικαὶ διακοσμήσεις (see footnote 97), and to Megaw to his "Chronology" (also footnote 97). For the Church of the Holy Apostles, see Soteriou and Megaw; also G. Lampakis, *Mémoire sur les antiquités chrétiennes de la Grèce* (Athens, 1902), especially figs. 60–64 (these and other drawings in Lampakis, pp. 42–43, are reproduced in Max van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, *Amida* [Heidelberg, 1910], fig. 327); Εὐρετήριον τῶν Μεσσανικῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ed. by K. Kourouniotes and G. A. Soteriou (Athens, 1927–1933), fig. 75; Alison Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora* (Princeton, 1961), fig. 48. My figure 22 shows the south (main) façade of the south transept.

¹⁰⁰ Megaw, G. Millet, *L'École grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* (Paris, 1916), p. 256. My figure 23 shows part of the west façade.

¹⁰¹ Also known as Ag. Nikodemus. Soteriou and Megaw, Εὐρετήριον, fig. 78; Lampakis, figs. 65–67. My figure 24 shows part of the north façade. Cf. M. Khatzidakis (Chatzidakis), *Βυζαντινὴ Ἀθῆνα* (Athens, n.d., ca. 1960), fig. 18.

¹⁰² Soteriou, Megaw, Millet, *op. cit.*, p. 256, G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899), Εὐρετήριον p. 217ff.

¹⁰³ Megaw, p. 108, and fig. 3 on p. 109. My figure 26 shows a detail of the exterior south wall. There are also interesting Kufesque cut-brick ornaments in the narthex.

¹⁰⁴ The Church of the Koimesis. Soteriou, Megaw; also Adolf Struck, "Vier byzantinische Kirchen der Argolis," *Mitteilungen des K. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 34 (1909), pp. 196–201, pl. IX. My figure 27 shows detail to the left of the south door.

¹⁰⁵ Millet, *École*, pp. 255–256, figs. 115–116; A. Bon, "Eglises byzantines de Kalamata," *Actes du VI^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines, Paris, 1948*, II (Paris, 1951), pp. 35–50 (Kufesque drawings, fig. 5).

¹⁰⁶ I. Papademetriou, 'Ο ναὸς τῶν Ἅγιων Ἰάσωνος καὶ Σωσιπάτρου ἐν Κερκύρᾳ, in 'Αρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς (1934–1935), pp. 37–56. My figure 28 shows a part of the eastern façade of the principal apse.

Amphissa in Phocis the Church of Ag. Soter, datable to the early twelfth century,¹⁰⁷ has a repertory limited largely to crosses framed by letters derived from *kāfs* or *dāls*, back to back (fig. 29).

Across the valley from Amphissa lies Delphi and Luke's Mt. Ioannitza, beyond which stands his monastery. We return there to point out a second category of cut-brick architectural ornament which certainly derives from the Kufesque letters. In figure 31 attention is called to the independent elements composing or accompanying the Kufesque figures.¹⁰⁸ These and related elements enjoy a wide currency in the late eleventh century and continue into the early thirteenth after the Kufesque letters from which they derive have disappeared from the façades of Byzantine churches in Greece. I illustrate only a few from a large number of examples: Ag. Eleousa at Sykaminon above the east coast of Attica (fig. 30),¹⁰⁹ where the apse carries a repeat pattern of what A. H. S. Megaw has called the *disepsilon* motif; single units of the same motif are used in the construction of other patterns, as at Merbaka in the Argolid (fig. 32);¹¹⁰ the Porta Panaghia at Pyli, west of Trikkala in the Pindus range,¹¹¹ with a cross formed of this motif and the vestigial remains of Kufesque brickwork right and left in the arch above it (fig. 33); several churches in and around Arta in Epirus—for example, the east end of the Church of the Vlachernai,¹¹² showing two motifs, Kufesque verticals and a band of *disepsilon*s, reproduced in the drawings in figure H; the Kato Panaghia¹¹³ (note the simplified *disepsilon* motif and a step-pattern composed of Kufic-derived elements on their sides, and in a lower course a cut-brick inscription in Greek characters, fig. 34), one of several examples of twelfth- and thirteenth-century churches in Greece where an Islamic practice, first introduced in the form of imitation Kufic inscriptions, has been taken over and adapted for Greek-Christian use. The monogram at the right incidentally helps date the building to Michael II Dukas and the mid-thirteenth century. Finally, the Church of the Vlachernai in Elis (fig. 35)¹¹⁴ exhibits several patterns of Kufic-derived brick ornament.

¹⁰⁷ Megaw; A. K. Orlando, 'Αρχείον τῶν βυζαντινῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ελλάδος (hereafter abbreviated 'Αρχείον) 1 (1935), p. 181ff., figs. 7 and 8. My figure 29 shows details to the left of the north window.

¹⁰⁸ Figure 31 shows a part of the south face of the Theotokos, just east of where it joins with the east end of the Katholikon.

¹⁰⁹ Megaw, p. 115.

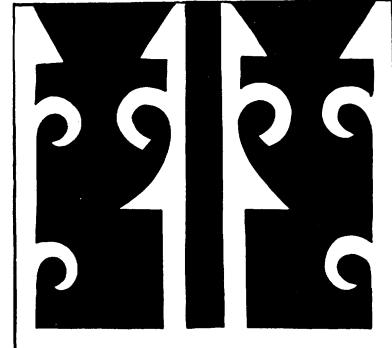
¹¹⁰ Megaw; Struck, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-210, pl. vi, 2, and pl. x. My figure 32 shows details of the south façade.

¹¹¹ Orlando, 'Αρχείον, 1 (1935), pp. 5-40, esp. figs. 8-9; Lampakis, *op. cit.*, fig. 89. My figure 33 shows details high on the south façade of the church.

¹¹² Orlando, 'Αρχείον, 2 (1936), pp. 3-50, esp. figs. 10, 12.

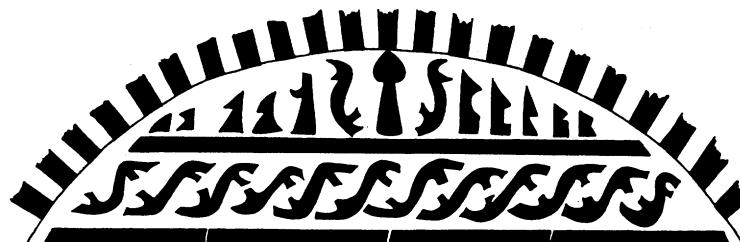
¹¹³ Lampakis, *op. cit.*, figs. 86-87; Orlando, 'Αρχείον, 2 (1936), pp. 70-87, esp. figs. 8-11.

¹¹⁴ 'Η Μονὴ τῶν Βλαχερνῶν, about five kilometers from Kyllene, one kilometer off the road between Andavida and Kyllene. Megaw; Orlando, Αἱ Βλαχέρναι τῆς Ἡλείας in 'Αρχαιολογικὴ Εφημερίς, 1923, pp. 5-36. My figure 35 shows details of the north end of the east façade of the church.



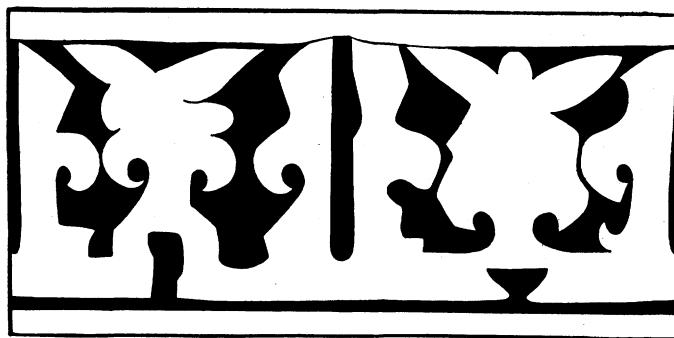
G. Messania, Kalamata, Church of Ag. Kharalampos. Design of Terracotta Plaque

Cut-brick was not the only material used in reproducing pseudo-Arabic inscriptions. Middle Byzantine churches in Greece frequently bear marble cornices, epistyles, and moldings ornamented with such characters, and for



H. Arta, Church of Vlachernai, East End, Kufesque and *Disepsilon* Motifs

this third category of decoration I return once more to Hosios Loukas, where in the east end of the Theotokos a fine frieze (fig. 36), set in the mortar below the cut-brick, exhibits a graceful but meaningless flow of balanced Kufic letters. Again I illustrate a few comparative examples: of approximately the same date is a fragment found near the Tower of the Winds in Athens (fig. I);¹¹⁵ a cornice at the spring of the south vaults of the church at Daphne (fig. 37)¹¹⁶ is of another type. Also undoubtedly of early eleventh-century date is a curious example of a trial Kufic letter group (*kāf-lām-yā'*) carved by a mason on a marble cornice (fig. 38) now enmured in the little chapel of Ag. Ioannes below the village of Ag. Georgios near Avlonari on the island of Euboea.¹¹⁷ This is perhaps an appropriate place to remind ourselves how extremely unreliable buildings and associated sculptural ornament in Greece are for purposes of dating each other. This is a modern chapel, but many ornamental fragments built into it are middle Byzantine, and in numerous instances the opposite is true.



I. Athens. Detail of Pseudo-Arabic Ornament on Marble Fragment

¹¹⁵ In 1958 the fragment (74x16.5x16 cm.) from which figure I was drawn was among a pile of stones outside the Tower of the Winds; it may now have been placed within the tower or removed to the Byzantine Museum.

¹¹⁶ Lampakis, *op. cit.*, fig. 38; *idem*, 'Η Μονή Δαφνίου (Athens, 1899), pp. 106-107; Millet, *Daphni*, p. 65. For the date, see Megaw, *passim*, and Εύρετηριον, pp. 217ff. (full bibliography on pp. 225-226).

¹¹⁷ In a side valley about one and a half kilometers SW of Khanya (Avlonari). The sill or cornice (59x13 cm.) is at the foot of the south window. Among other (eleventh century?) fragments built into the chapel is a fine, carved, circular plaque set in the floor.

The Church of Ag. Loukas above Aliveri, not far from the last example, is only a few years old, but built into it are fragments, such as the epistyle en-mured beneath the west window and another related templon fragment (fig. 39), which came from an eleventh-century church formerly standing on this spot.¹¹⁸ It is of very special interest that the earlier church was established as a *metokhi* of Hosios Loukas in Phocis. To be noted are the fine Kufesque elements in the midst of other relief motifs of typical eleventh- or early twelfth-century Byzantine character. I shall return to this site in another connection. Not more than a day's journey from Aliveri, on the Euboean coast, is the village of Politika, where in the little convent of the Panaghia there is another templon epistyle, now placed over the entrance, with a quite similar Kufesque pattern (fig. 40).¹¹⁹ A lintel at the Helkomenos Church in Monemvasia with rectangular Kufic elements (fig. 41, at the left) must date from the twelfth century.¹²⁰ Other examples of more cursive character, such as the epistyle at Ag. Ioannes Kynegos on Mt. Hymettos (fig. 42),¹²¹ dating from the first half of the twelfth century, and a cornice fragment in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (fig. 43),¹²² are confirming evidence that the importation of Islamic artistic influences did not cease with the eleventh century but continued in fresh waves in the twelfth and thirteenth.

Imitation Arabic epigraphy also plays a role in the ornamentation of the plaques, screens, and parapets which decorated both the exteriors and the interiors of middle Byzantine churches. Once more Hosios Loukas provides us with a point of departure. Only recently a mass of marble fragments such as the one illustrated in figure 44 has turned up at Hosios Loukas, evidently discarded in one of the numerous restorations of the eleventh-century structures.¹²³ The Kufesque characters are in the same style as those of the cornice on the east end of the Theotokos (fig. 36). A superb piece of sculpture is the lid of the sarcophagus in the crypt of the Katholikon (fig. 45), the identity of which has been the subject of a good deal of controversy.¹²⁴ Countless travellers

¹¹⁸ Orlando, 'Αρχεῖον, 7 (1951), pp. 131-145; fig. 2 (p. 133) illustrates the same fragment as my figure 39. In 1958 this piece (measuring 126x37x17 cm.) was stored in the nave of the church. I am indebted to Mr. A. S. Ioannou, then Nomarch of Euboea, for first bringing this church to my attention.

¹¹⁹ Η Περίβλεπτος τῶν Πολιτικῶν. Orlando, 'Αρχεῖον, 3 (1937), pp. 175-184, fig. 9; Soteriou, fig. 23. The epistyle, of which only a part is illustrated in my figure 40, measures 105x14 cm. I was unable, in 1958 and 1960, to locate another epistyle from this church illustrated by Orlando, *ibid.*, fig. 8, and Soteriou, fig. 2.

¹²⁰ N. A. Bees, 'Ο Έλκόμενος Χριστός τῆς Μονεμβασίας . . . , *Byz.-Neugriech. Jahrb.*, 10 (1932/3, 1933/4), pp. 199-262. The lintel has been installed over the main west doorway of the church, also known as the Metropolis.

¹²¹ Megaw; Soteriou, fig. 31; J. Strzygowski, 'Η Μονὴ τοῦ Κυνηγοῦ τῶν Φιλοσόφων, in Δελτίον τῆς Ἰστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἐταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος, 3 (1890), pp. 117-128. My figure 42 illustrates a detached fragment (43x26x18 cm.) of the cornice now mounted as the templon epistyle. In 1960 this fragment was on the south porch of the church. For a dated (A.D. 1205) fragment of an epistyle from the same church, see G. Soteriou, *Guide du Musée Byzantin d'Athènes* (Athens, 1932), fig. 7 (at bottom) and p. 50.

¹²² No. 318 (33x11 cm.). Soteriou, fig. 32.

¹²³ May I here express my warm thanks to Mr. E. G. Stikas for permitting me to photograph these pieces in December 1960. The fragment illustrated measures 26x21 cm., letter height 11 cm. Two arch fragments of the same type appear in Soteriou, fig. 22.

¹²⁴ A line drawing of one section of the Kufesque border appears in Schultz and Barnsley, *op. cit.*, fig. 25. This drawing is reproduced in Soteriou, fig. 19. Strzygowski in *Amida*, fig. 325, gives a line

have seen this tomb, including Cyriacus of Ancona who visited the monastery in 1436¹²⁵ and Richard Chandler who was there in 1766;¹²⁶ but it is a measure of the lack of interest in Greek Byzantine art shown, until quite recently, by western travellers that no one commented on the details of this strange and beautiful relief, although Chandler did speak of the metal plaque, now gone, which apparently at that time still was sunk in the rectangular inset visible in fig 45.¹²⁷ The close resemblance in style between this sarcophagus cover and the epistles at Ag. Loukas and Politika in Euboea which I have illustrated is striking; and there is, I think, little doubt that we have here a clear instance, of which there are many others, of the work of ambulatory masons and sculptors. Also at Ag. Loukas in Euboea, enmured on its side in the east end of the modern church, is a beautiful marble templon screen (fig. 46) with an exceptionally delicate Kufesque headpiece.¹²⁸

Many other examples could be discussed, some well known, as the parapet (fig. 47)¹²⁹ or the plaque¹³⁰ with two confronting lions reaching into a tree, framed by a fine Kufesque border, of which figure 48 shows a detail—both in the Byzantine Museum (nos. 321 and 161, respectively); and others less familiar, as an elaborate piece from Kapareli in Boeotia (fig. 49);¹³¹ or, at the meta-Byzantine Panaghia in Makrinitza below Mt. Pelion, a marble plaque (fig. 51),¹³² and a capital (fig. 50),¹³³ now used as a porch column base, with letters rather resembling those on the marble fragments at Hosios Loukas; or a piece recently discovered in the village of Old Corinth (fig. 52).¹³⁴ Again, as with the cornices, there are later examples, such as the slab of the sarcophagus of Anna Maliasinos at Episkopi above Volo (fig. 53),¹³⁵ datable to about 1276, where an interlaced cursive pseudo-Arabic inscription frames figures of Islamic derivation.

drawing of one unit of the design. My figure 45 shows the north side of the sarcophagus lid (letter height, 13.5 cm.). This and other detailed photographs were taken in September 1960; I am grateful to Mr. Manoli Chatzidakis, Director of the Byzantine Museum and of the Benaki Museum in Athens, for permission to take these photographs.

¹²⁵ Full details and bibliography in E. W. Bodnar, S. J., *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens*, Coll. Latomus, 43 (Brussels, 1960), p. 34.

¹²⁶ *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece by the late Richard Chandler, D.D., A new edition with corrections and remarks by Nicholas Revett, Esq.* (Oxford, 1825), 2, pp. 302–312. William M. Leake was at Hosios Loukas in 1806 and gives an interesting account of his visit (*Travels in Northern Greece*, 2 [London, 1835], pp. 533–537), but naturally says little about the Byzantine antiquities.

¹²⁷ Chandler, p. 311. The sunken area, about 2 cm. deep, measures 11x19 cm.

¹²⁸ Also illustrated by Orlando in *'Αρχεῖον*, 7 (1951), p. 136, fig. 4.

¹²⁹ Soteriou, fig. 46; Soteriou, *Guide*, fig. 33.

¹³⁰ Soteriou, fig. 44; Soteriou, *Guide*, fig. 27A; Strzygowski, *Amida*, fig. 322; Louis Bréhier, "À propos d'un bas-relief byzantin d'Athènes," *Événements Hommage international à l'Université Nationale de Grèce* (Athens, 1912), pp. 161–166; *idem*, *La sculpture et les arts mineurs byzantins* (Paris, 1936), pl. IX, 2; Chatzidakis, *op. cit.* in footnote 101, fig. 41; and frequently reproduced elsewhere.

¹³¹ My photograph is of a plaster cast in the Byzantine Museum. I am indebted to Mr. Orlando for giving me a photograph of the original which enabled me to determine the provenance. The piece measures 56.5x34 cm.

¹³² The plaque is enmured in the east façade of the church, to the left of the main apse. Its position is evident in D. K. Sisilianos, 'Η Μακρινίτσα κατ τὸ Πήλιον' (Athens, 1939), pl. opposite p. 48.

¹³³ Illustrated by Soteriou, fig. 20, and on the cover of the offprint.

¹³⁴ Brought to my attention in 1960 by Mr. D. I. Pallas. The slab measures 48x42 cm. (max.), letter height 12.8 cm.

¹³⁵ Illustrated in a drawing by Soteriou, fig. 35, and by N. J. Giannopoulos, "Les constructions byzantines de la région de Démétrias (Thessalie)," *Bull. de correspondance hellénique*, 44 (1920), p. 196.

We must, however, return once more to our starting point at Hosios Loukas to speak briefly of two other categories of Byzantine architectural ornament in Greece which bear the mark of Arabic epigraphical influence. One of these is mosaic, and in this medium on Greek soil I can cite only these two examples at Hosios Loukas: the figure of St. Demetrios (fig. 54), bearing a shield ornamented with Kufesque letters (note the similar letters on the canopy of the tabernacle), and similar characters on the shield of St. Prokopios (fig. 55).¹³⁶ I am indebted to Professor Kitzinger and to Mrs. Fanny Bonajuto for drawing my attention to these mosaics. Professor Kitzinger has been good enough to furnish me with a striking comparative example from Professor Gabrieli's area, the shield of St. Demetrios in the Cappella Palatina at Palermo (fig. 56), with a fine circular border composed of similar characters.¹³⁷ One wonders whether the decoration of these shields was inspired by imported Damascene armor? Or might there perhaps be some lost apotropaic meaning?¹³⁸

The other, and final, category in this classification of simulated Arabic ornament is painting, and here again Hosios Loukas does not fail us. A pier capital in the crypt (fig. 58), close by the ornamented sarcophagus, is painted with well-formed Kufic letters, copied from eleventh-century prototypes,¹³⁹ and in the gallery of the Katholikon is another capital painted with a series of connected letters (fig. 59),¹⁴⁰ probably of twelfth-century style, which bring to mind a strikingly similar design in niello in the early twelfth-century Church of SS. Vittore and Corona at Feltre north of Venice (fig. 60);¹⁴¹ and on the exterior of the narthex of the Katholikon at Hosios Loukas are preserved fragments of plaster painted in red with spidery Kufesque characters (fig. 61). Hosios Loukas is not the only place where such exterior painting exists: a very recent discovery, brought to light during the removal of the unsightly masonry which filled the archways of the twelfth-century pre-Cistercian ex-

fig. 8; cf. G. Millet, "Remarques sur les sculptures byzantines de la région de Démétrias," *BCH*, 44 (1920), p. 210. The slab (118x59 cm., letter height 9 cm.) is now fixed to the wall of the west porch of the church; it was formerly built into the floor.

¹³⁶ The photographs in figures 54 and 55 are taken from prints in the Dumbarton Oaks copy of G. Tsímas and P. Papahadzidakis' *Mosaïques d'Hosios Loukas*, 37.

¹³⁷ On the northern face of the arch separating the north wing of the transept from the central square. I am indebted to Dumbarton Oaks for the photograph.

¹³⁸ After the Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks in May 1963, Mr. Marvin C. Ross drew my attention to two other occurrences of Kufesque on shields, on the ivory triptych of the Forty Martyrs and Saints in the Hermitage Museum, as illustrated by D. Talbot Rice in "The Ivory of the Forty Martyrs at Berlin and the Art of the Twelfth Century," *Mélanges G. Ostrogorsky*, 1 (Belgrade, 1963), pp. 275-279, fig. 2 (cf. A. Goldschmidt and K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.-XIII. Jahrhunderts* [Berlin, 1930-1934], 2, no. 9, pl. III; A. V. Bank, *Iskusstvo Vizantii* [Leningrad, 1960], pl. 77). Subsequently Professor Rice was kind enough to send me an enlargement of the figure at the lower left of the triptych, reproduced in my figure 57. I am indebted to the Hermitage Museum for this photograph. An inquiry into the origin of the imitation Kufic on the shields of warrior saints would be an interesting and probably a rewarding subject for a monograph. I have not looked into any of the extensive literature on Muslim arms and armor.

¹³⁹ At the spring of the arch above the east end of the sarcophagus. The painted capital is 59 cm. long, letter height 22 cm.

¹⁴⁰ I am grateful to Mr. M. Chatzidakis for first calling my attention to this capital.

¹⁴¹ I owe the photograph and basic references to Mr. Hans Buchwald. Cf. A. Alpago Novello, "La chiesa dei SS. Vittore e Corona a Feltre," *Arte cristiana*, 9, May 1921.

narthex of the church at Daphne, is several fragments of graceful interlaced Kufesque painted on the inner faces of the pier heads (fig. 63), reminiscent of the later cursive imitations which we have seen in other media; while on the western faces of these piers there are, or at least there were three years ago, fragments of plaster painted in red with unadorned Kufic letters which almost give the impression that they had been executed by an Arab hand (fig. 62).¹⁴²

In the twelfth-century Church of the Saviour at Megara,¹⁴³ and, far off in the southern Peloponnesus in the Church of Ag. Sophia at Monemvasia (fig. 64),¹⁴⁴ there are fresco borders of ornament quite like the painted cursive decoration at Daphne. Later than any of these are such completely stylized friezes as those at Molivdoskepasto in northwestern Epirus, probably of the fourteenth century (fig. 65),¹⁴⁵ or, very similar, but still later, at Ag. Nikolaos tou Kyritze at Kastoria in northwestern Macedonia (fig. 66),¹⁴⁶ where the original Kufic prototype is only the faintest of memories.

In conclusion I intend to speak briefly of artistic media other than those associated with architecture in which the Arabic alphabet played a part, but before doing so we must recall that the influence of Islamic arts and crafts is discernible in Byzantine Greece not only in the imitation of epigraphy but in other ways as well. The probability that the squinch, as for example at Hosios Loukas, is an eastern importation has frequently been discussed;¹⁴⁷ and some years ago Professor Orlando called attention to several instances of the use of the horseshoe arch in eleventh- and early twelfth-century churches.¹⁴⁸ The locations are interesting: Hosios Loukas, the Kapnikaraea, Hosios Meletios on Mt. Kithairon, Amphissa (fig. 67), Sophikon in the Corinthia, Kitta in the Mani. The fact that there are Kufesque brick elements at all these sites can scarcely by pure coincidence.¹⁴⁹

But I refer especially to sculptured plaques depicting subjects that betray the unmistakable evidence of eastern influence. The earliest of these are doubt-

¹⁴² Again I am in Mr. Chatzidakis' debt for telling me of these painted fragments and for permission to photograph them. Reports by Georges Daux on the work of repair and reconstruction of the exo-narthex at Daphni will be found in *BCH* (1961), pp. 618–622 (figs. 1–5), and A. H. S. Megaw, *Archaeological Reports for 1962–63* (British School at Athens), p. 7. My figure 62 was taken in November 1958; figure 63 and photographs of all the other painted fragments within the arches in December 1960.

¹⁴³ See the drawing in Soteriou, fig. 24.

¹⁴⁴ Interior, south wall. The church probably dates from the beginning of the twelfth century: see Bon, *op. cit.*, p. 141, the references there, footnote 4, and E. Stikas, *L'Église byzantine de Christianou* (Paris, 1951), p. 69.

¹⁴⁵ On the Albanian border about 22 kilometers from Konitza. For a general description, see Donald Nicol, "The Churches of Molyvdoskepastos," *ABSA*, 48 (1953), pp. 141–153. He does not illustrate any of the frescoes.

¹⁴⁶ The photograph is taken from S. Pelekanedes, *Καστοριά*, 1 (Thessalonika, 1953), pl. 158 β. For a brief note on this church, see Orlando, *Αρχείον*, 4 (1938), pp. 168–169.

¹⁴⁷ E.g., O. M. Dalton, *East Christian Art* (Oxford, 1925), p. 86.

¹⁴⁸ Τὸ πεταλόμορφον τόξον ἐν τῇ Βυζαντινῇ Ἑλλάδι, ΕΕΒΣ, 11 (1935), pp. 411–415.

¹⁴⁹ Hosios Meletios: Kufesque-derived cut-brick ornament, Kufesque marble cornices and plaque fragments (Orlando, *Αρχείον*, 5 [1939–1940], pp. 35–118, figs. 41, 42, 43, 47, 52, and unpublished photographs in my files). Sophikon, Koimesis of Steire: Kufesque cut-brick ornament (Orlando, *Αρχείον*, 1 [1935], p. 85, fig. 34). Kitta: Kufesque and Kufesque-derived cut-brick ornament (H. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture in Mani," *ABSA*, 33 [1932–1933], pp. 137–162, esp. pp. 154, 157, and pl. 19, c).

less those on the apse of the Koimesis at Skripou (fig. 68),¹⁵⁰ which date from the late ninth century and precede the penetration of Islamic motifs into Greece; but the more characteristic and most plentiful style is that so well represented in the tenth- and eleventh-century reliefs built into the Gorgoepikoos (the "Little Metropolis") in Athens, of which I illustrate a few familiar examples.¹⁵¹ The ultimate source is of course Sasanian, but the intermediary was Islam. Confronting sphinxes (fig. 69), griffons, eagles, serpents (figs. 70-71); harpies and lions; human-headed quadrupeds, the entire menagerie of fabulous monsters, and such age-old themes as the lion attacking the deer (fig. 72), are taken over into the Byzantine repertory in a fresh wave of the recurrent east-west stream, transmuted from their ancient prototypes by the genius of Islam and eventually, under Greek and later Frankish influence, to be further transformed into an indigenous style of its own.

Needless to say, it is not only at Athens but throughout Greece (not to mention Italy) that sculpture of this sort is to be found. There are some fine fragments in Khalkis (figs. 73-74); and Thebes has many examples of the finest style, as the plaque enmured in the modern Church of the Panaghia (fig. 75).¹⁵² Also at Thebes, in the museum garden, is a plaque (fig. 76) showing a hawk devouring a duck,¹⁵³ a common theme in Seljuq art—a parallel is a stucco plaque found in the excavations at Rayy in northern Persia (fig. 77).¹⁵⁴

There are some important questions which I have not touched on but which need to be investigated: what were the actual Islamic prototypes of all these motifs, what were the media, and how were they transmitted to Greece? Obviously these are questions for another paper and doubtless for another author, but before I close I would like to hint at some of the possibilities. It is known that Thebes and Corinth were the leading provincial centers of Byzantine textile production in Greece,¹⁵⁵ and that Byzantine textiles owe

¹⁵⁰ There is a large bibliography: see especially J. Strzygowski in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 3 (1894), pp. 1-16, and Maria G. Soteriou in 'Αρχαιολογική Έφημερις (1931), pp. 119-157.

¹⁵¹ Most of these plaques have been so frequently reproduced that there is no need for a bibliography. The last word surely has not been said on the problems of dating. The monograph by K. Michel and A. Struck, "Die mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athens," *Mitteilungen d. K. D. Arch. Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*, 31 (1906), pp. 279-324, needs revision. On the whole question of middle-Byzantine sculpture, two articles of Louis Bréhier's are of special importance: "Études sur l'histoire de la sculpture byzantine," *Nouvelles archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires*, 20, N. S., fasc. 3 (Paris, 1911), pp. 19-105; and "Nouvelles recherches sur l'histoire de la sculpture byzantine," *ibid.*, N. S., fasc. 9 (Paris, 1913), pp. 1-68.

There are, incidentally, Kufesque elements in the marble epistyle over the door leading from the narthex into the nave of the Gorgoepikoos, which, I think, have never been illustrated. Photographs of them, taken in October 1961, are in my files.

¹⁵² High on the east end. The church itself is modern (cf. G. A. Soteriou in 'Αρχ. Εφ. [1924, publ. 1926], p. 25, and J. Strzygowski in *BZ*, 3 [1894], p. 11).

¹⁵³ Cf. Orlando, Γλυπτά τοῦ μουσείου Θηβῶν, in 'Αρχεῖον, 5 (1939-1940), pp. 119-143, fig. 21.

¹⁵⁴ From Cheshme-i 'Ali, 1934, now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 35.915. Illustrated in *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, 33 (Boston, August 1935), p. 58, fig. 7; *Survey of Persian Art*, pl. 514 C; and *Oriental Art* (Series O, Section IV), *Iranian and Islamic Art* (The University Prints, Newton, Mass., 1944), pl. O 480.

¹⁵⁵ E. Weigand, "Die Helladisch Byzantinische Seidenweberei," in *Eis Μνήμην Σπυρίδωνος Λάμπτρου* (Athens, 1935), pp. 503-514; J. H. Finley, Jr., "Corinth in the Middle Ages," *Speculum*, 7 (1932), pp. 481-483; J. Starr, "The Epitaph of a Dyer in Corinth," *Byz.-Neogr. Jahrb.* 12 (1935-36), pp. 42-49; *idem*, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire 641-1204*, Texte und Forschungen zur byzanti-

much to models imported in great quantity from Arab and Persian looms.¹⁵⁶ One can confidently say, I think, that these textiles played a most important role in the inspiration not only of the figural sculpture of this period, but also in that of other elements which we have been considering. A few comparative illustrations may be suggestive of the sort of borrowing I have in mind, and of the direction which further inquiry might take: in figure 78 a Buwayhid silk probably of the tenth century,¹⁵⁷ and in figure 79 some plaques at Makrinitsa in Magnesia.¹⁵⁸ Confronting peacocks are a favorite theme: in figure 80 another Buwayhid silk,¹⁵⁹ and in figure 81 a marble plaque at Volo.¹⁶⁰ It is perhaps debatable whether the early marble and brick Kufesque inscriptions are inspired by textiles such as an Egyptian linen with tapestry inscription illustrated in figure 82¹⁶¹ (it is dated by the way just three years after Hosios Loukas' death), but there are some very suggestive parallels in calligraphy, as for example in the hooks ornamenting the vertical letters of an inscription on a tenth-century silk in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (fig. 83)¹⁶² and those on the ceramic plaque at Kalamata (fig. G); or in the style of an eleventh-century dyed cotton from Fustāt in the Textile Museum (fig. 84)¹⁶³ and that of a plaque fragment found near the Roman Agora in Athens (fig. 85).¹⁶⁴ Characteristic of Kufic inscriptions on textiles is the occurrence of retrograde letters caused by the reversal of the loom pattern, and many of the Greek Kufesque designs we have seen exhibit this feature. It will be observed that the verse on a Seljuq silk in the Textile Museum (fig. 86)¹⁶⁵ runs in both directions, and the pseudo-Kufic marble cornices at Hosios Loukas (fig. 36) and elsewhere have the same characteristic.

But the inquiry into this question of prototypes should not be limited to textiles. Some of the borrowings may well be due to actual Islamic architectural ornament: the juxtaposition of a niche in the late tenth-century Mosque of

nischneugriechischen Philologie, No. 30, (Athens, 1939), pp. 28–29, 223. For a detailed discussion of the organization of the textile industry in Byzantium, see R. S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum*, 20 (1945), pp. 1–42.

¹⁵⁶ See especially André Grabar, "Le succès des arts orientaux à la cour byzantine sous les Macédoniens," *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*, Dritte Folge, Band 2 (1951), pp. 32–60, esp. pp. 33–42. Most of the earlier relevant bibliography will be found in this important article.

¹⁵⁷ Gaston Wiet, *Soieries Persanes (Mémoires présentés à l'Institut d'Égypte)*, 25 [Cairo, 1947], pl. xiv. Buwayhid silks from Rayy have most recently been discussed by Dorothy G. Shepherd in *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (April 1963), pp. 65–70.

¹⁵⁸ These plaques are mounted in the wall of the south porch of the Panaghia. Compare the marble screen at the Grand Lavra, illustrated by Schlumberger, *L'Épopée Byzantine*, 2, p. 521.

¹⁵⁹ Wiet, *op. cit.*, pl. VII.

¹⁶⁰ Illustrated by Soteriou, fig. 45. His photograph also shows the lower portion of the plaque, no longer associated with it when I photographed it in September 1960. Soteriou mistakenly thought that the Arabic inscription was in Kufic and contemporary with the sculpture. The words *mā shā'a'llāh* ("what God wills") were undoubtedly added in Turkish times.

¹⁶¹ Textile Museum, Washington, D.C., 73.215, Ernst Kühnel, *Catalogue of Dated Tiraz Fabrics* (Washington, D.C., 1952), p. 49, pl. XXII. This *tiraz* fragment in the name of the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Mut'ī is dated 345 H./A.D. 956.

¹⁶² Dumbarton Oaks Collection No. 26.2.

¹⁶³ Textile Museum No. 73.70.

¹⁶⁴ In September 1958 this fragment (28x14.5 cm.) was in the Tower of the Winds.

¹⁶⁵ Textile Museum No. 3.199.

al-Azhar in Cairo (fig. 87)¹⁶⁶ and an amusing relief found at Corinth (fig. 88)¹⁶⁷ is suggestive. And the forms of certain letters or letter combinations should furnish clues to dating and origin, as, for example, the zigzag *lām-alif* ligature toward the center of the arch on the Corinth plaque, to be compared with a similar form in the splendid inscriptions on the tenth-century mosque at Nāyin in southeast Djibāl province in Persia (fig. 89).¹⁶⁸ Also, in seeking the origins of the vogue of cut-brick and stone epigraphical ornament in Greece, thought should be given to the possible direct influence of such techniques in Persia and in northern Mesopotamia and Syria. I have in mind the brick ornamentation of Buwayhid and Seljuq minarets and the stone sculpture in such places as Amida. A striking example of the survival of the tradition in Greece is a fresco of the Dormition in the Panaghia Mavriotissa near Kastoria (fig. 90),¹⁶⁹ showing a Kufesque frieze on the parapet below a gallery of mourning women. Innumerable examples could be cited of parallels in Islamic miniature painting, where architectural façades are depicted with epigraphical friezes on balconies or battlements or over doorways.¹⁷⁰

I will not on this occasion broach the question of how these motifs and styles were transmitted from the Moslem East, although the reader is doubtless aware that I have several times hinted at the likelihood of resident Moslem craftsmen in the western Aegean area, at least after the reconquest of Crete—perhaps even before, for warfare has seldom totally cut off travel and trade. But in this connection, and finally, I wish to mention very briefly two other media, both easily transportable, in which Arab influence is self-evident: ceramics and manuscript illumination. The occurrence of such prototypes on Greek soil need not imply the physical presence of Arab artisans. Several classes of Byzantine pottery, especially the sgraffiato ware, are decorated not only with Islamic figural subjects but also with Kufesque borders. The eleventh-century plate illustrated in figure 91¹⁷¹ is from the excavations in the Athenian Agora, and it is to be noted that the epigraphical repeat pattern on a lustre

¹⁶⁶ The drawing is from Samuel Flury, "Le décor épigraphique des monuments fatimides du Caire," *Syria*, 17 (1936), p. 376, fig. 7; cf. K. A. C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 1 (Oxford, 1952), pl. 13.

¹⁶⁷ This plaque, in the Corinth Museum, has been illustrated by Robert L. Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Corinth, 16 [Princeton, 1957]), pl. 22, fig. 19; and by Soteriou, fig. 16. The provenance given by Scranton, "from church in Kranion suberb" is incorrect; he now agrees that information kindly furnished me by Mrs. Elizabeth G. Caskey and Mrs. Mary Zelia Philipides, on the basis of field records at Corinth, shows that the plaque was found in the area of the Roman Baths west of the Excavation House on the last day of excavation in 1932. Its original location is unknown.

¹⁶⁸ From a drawing by S. Flury in "La mosquée de Nāyin," *Syria*, 11 (1930), p. 44, fig. 1; cf. H. Viollet and S. Flury, "Un monument des premiers siècles de l'Hégire en Perse," *Syria*, 2 (1921), pl. XXXII.

¹⁶⁹ Pelekanedes, *op. cit.*, pl. 77B; cf. Angelo Procopiou, *The Macedonian Question in Byzantine Painting* (Athens, 1962), pl. 49, printed in reverse. Orlando, 'Αρχεῖον, 4 (1938), p. 186, dates the frescoes to the eleventh or twelfth century, as does Pelekanedes, Procopiou to the twelfth.

¹⁷⁰ For example, *Survey of Persian Art* (London-New York, 1939), pls. 871, 874, 883 B, 884, 886, 887, etc.; Richard Ettinghausen, *Arab Painting* (Lausanne-Paris, 1962), p. 116. The example illustrated in the oral presentation of this paper was from the Herat school Shāhnāmah of 833 H./A.D. 1429-30 in the Gulistan Palace in Teheran (*Survey*, pl. 871).

¹⁷¹ Agora P 5026, illustrated in Alison Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora*, fig. 19.

bowl from Fustāt (fig. 92)¹⁷² is no less Kufesque than the imitation. This is true of the epigraphical decoration of much Islamic pottery, not only in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but from the ninth century onward. By no means were all Moslem potters literate. The excavations at Corinth also have produced quantities of local imitations of Islamic ware along with importations. Some of the Kufesque designs on Corinthian ceramics are illustrated in figure 93.¹⁷³

Equally or perhaps even more mobile than ceramics were manuscripts, and among them we may perhaps find one of the most important clues to the problems of transmission of Arab ornament, for many, both in the East and in the West, bear the imprint of Islamic influence in their decoration. Unmistakable are those with chapter headings or title heads whose essential traits are derived from Arabic script. An example taken from the Homilies of St. Chrysostom in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Gr. 660, fol. 350), with its basically pure, but sometimes retrograde, Kufic letters, so nearly legible but actually unintelligible, is impressively reminiscent of much of the earlier material that we have seen in other media (fig. 94).¹⁷⁴ Obviously the artist who embellished this manuscript was familiar with the Arabic alphabet; in fact he may well have learned to read and speak the language in Palestine or on Sinai,¹⁷⁵ and, in the days of Nicephoros Phocas, have transmitted this and other reflections of the alien culture to the Grand Lavra and other monastic centers in Greece—perhaps even to the peaceful hermitage of Hosios Loukas at Steiris.

¹⁷² Maurice Pézard, *La céramique archaïque de l'Islam et ses origines* (Paris, 1920), pl. XXIII.

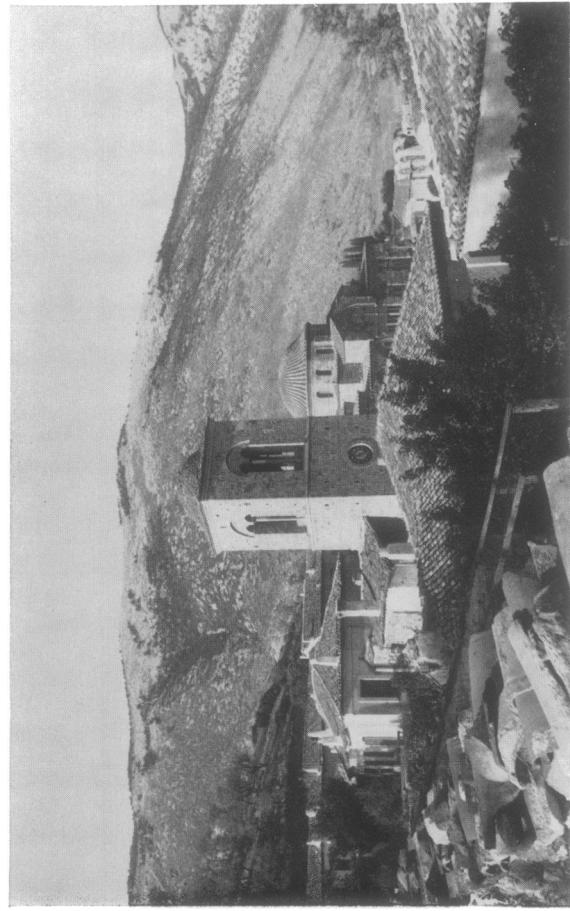
¹⁷³ From Charles H. Morgan II, *The Byzantine Pottery* (Corinth, 11 [Cambridge, Mass., 1942]), p. 32, fig. 21.

¹⁷⁴ Reproduced from Jean Ebersolt, *La Miniature Byzantine* (Paris, 1926), pl. LIII, 2 (cf. Soteriou, fig. 3). Many other examples could be cited: e.g., Ebersolt, *op. cit.*, p. 48; André Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin* (Paris, 1957), fig. 68; Morgan Library, M 378, fol. 68^r (thirteenth century). A rich repertory of western examples has been assembled by K. Erdmann, *loc. cit.* in footnote 97, *supra*.

¹⁷⁵ Kurt Weitzmann has pointed out that many Greek manuscripts of the eighth, ninth, and perhaps tenth centuries in the library of St. Catherine's Monastery on Mt. Sinai have supplementary contemporary titles in Arabic, and some Sinai psalters are bilingual ("Islamische und koptische Einflüsse in einer Sinai-Handschrift des Johannes Klimakus," *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift für Ernst Kühnel* [Berlin, 1959], pp. 297-316, esp. pp. 314-315, and figs. 16, 17, and 19). Professor Weitzmann, in discussing pseudo-Kufic ornament in Greece with me, has remarked on the likelihood that bilingual monks from Sinai may well have been those who brought their knowledge of the Arabic script to Greece. In another way the intimate connection between Moslem and Greek manuscript illustrators is evident in the dependence of the former on the latter in the illustration of Arabic medical, botanical, and scientific works (cf. K. Weitzmann, "The Greek Sources of Islamic Scientific Illustrations," *Archaeologica Orientalia in Memoriam Ernst Herzfeld*, ed. by George C. Miles [Locust Valley, 1952], pp. 244-266).



2. Paros, Panagia Hekatontapylion

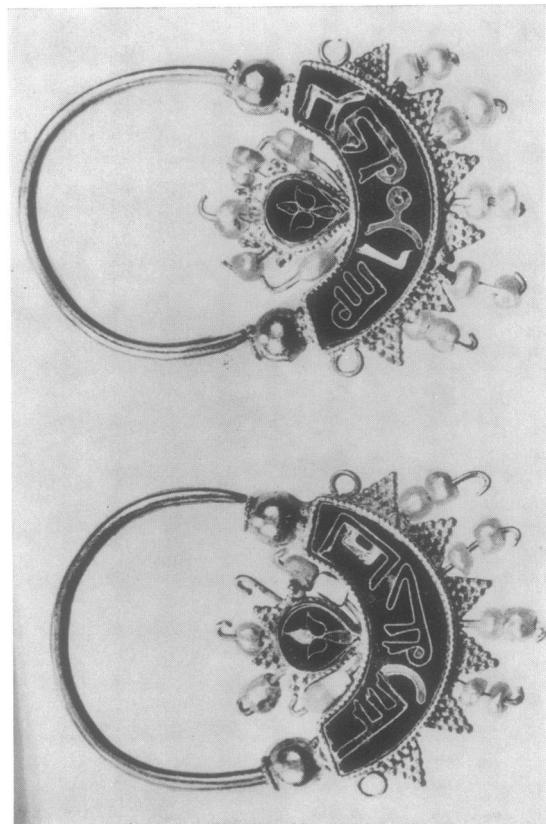


1. Hosios Loukas



3-10. Coins of the Amirs of Crete

11. Athens, Hélène Stathatos Collection, Earrings





12. Delos, Stoa of Philippos.
Plinth. Arabic Graffito



13. Khalkis, Museum, No. 1153



14. Corinth, Excavations, No. 919



15. Athenian Agora, Excavations, I 3837



16. Athens, Byzantine Museum, No. 315



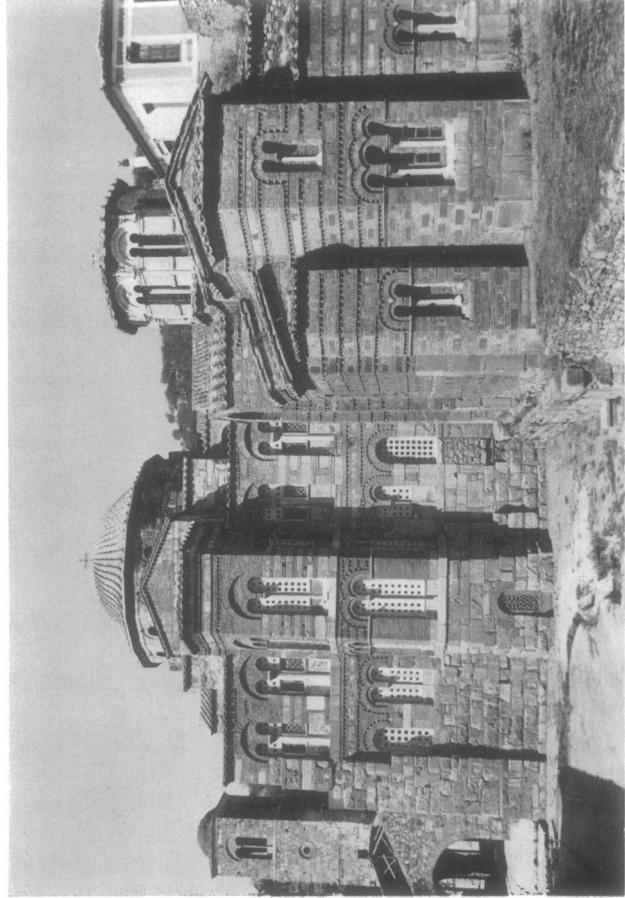
18. Washington, D. C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
No. 39.11, detail of Neck



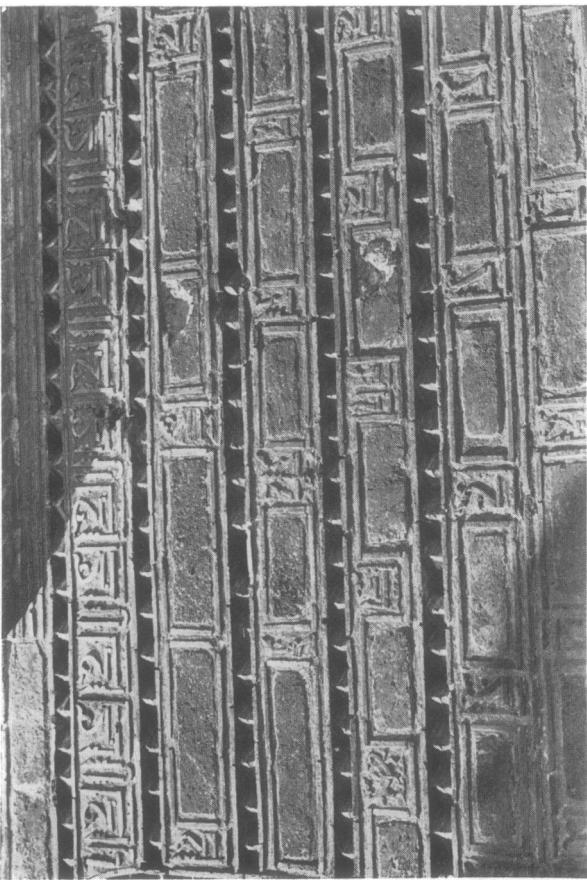
17. Lost Fragment



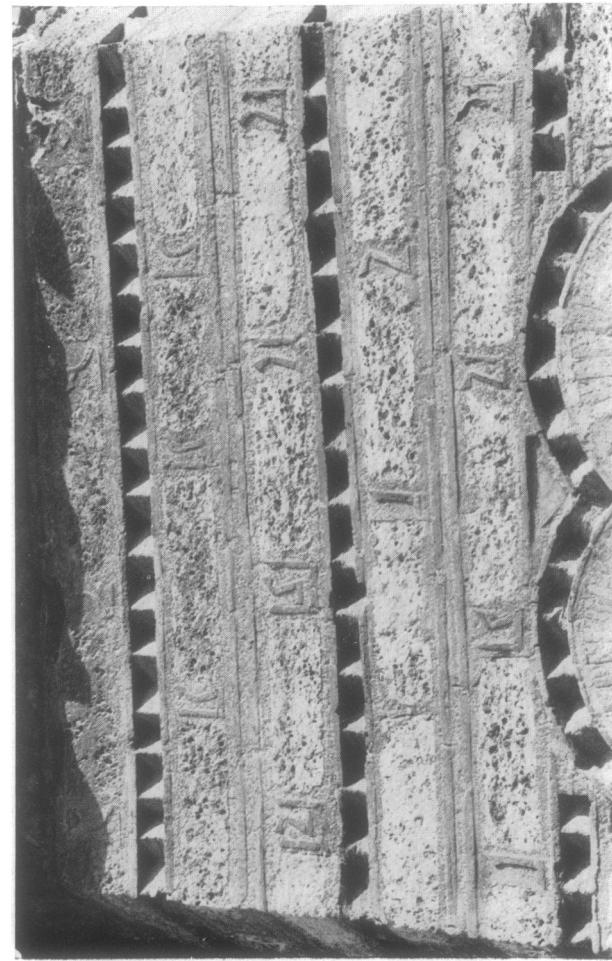
19. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection,
No. 39.11, detail of Foot



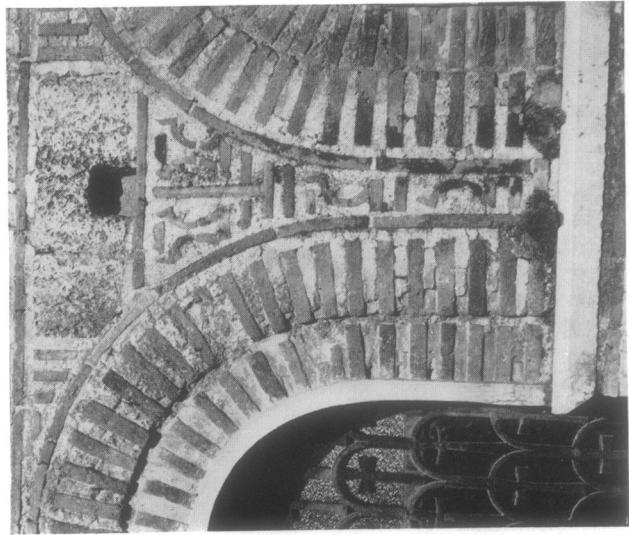
20. Hosios Loukas. East Ends of Churches



21. Hosios Loukas. Theotokos, East End



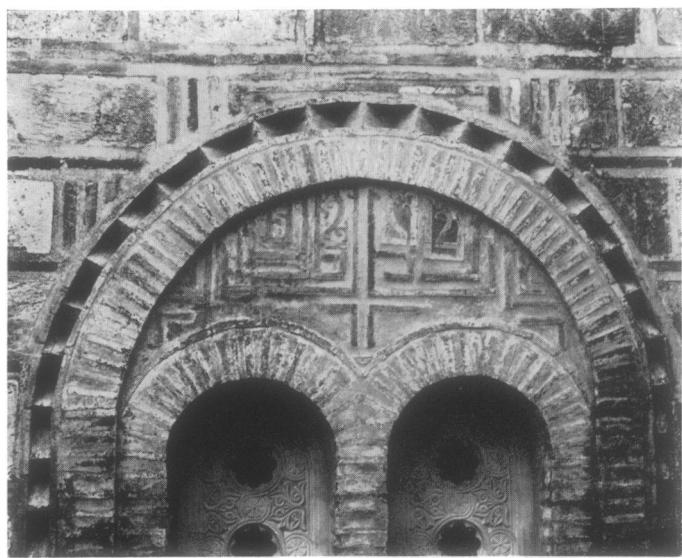
22. Athens, Church of the Holy Apostles.
South Façade, South Transept



23. Athens, Kapnikaraea. West Façade,
Spandrel of Window Arches



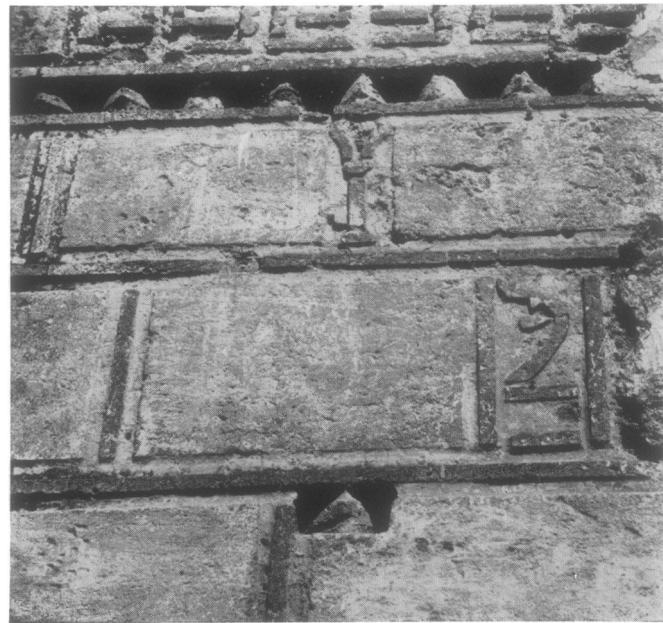
24. Athens, Sotera Lykodemou.
North Façade, detail



25. Daphne. Narthex, South End



26. Ligourio, Ag. Ioannes Eleemon.
South Wall, detail



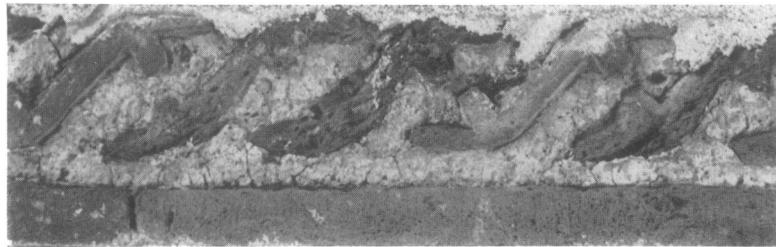
27. Khonika, Koimesis. Detail to left of South Door



28. Corfu, SS. Jason and Sosipater. Main Apse, East Façade



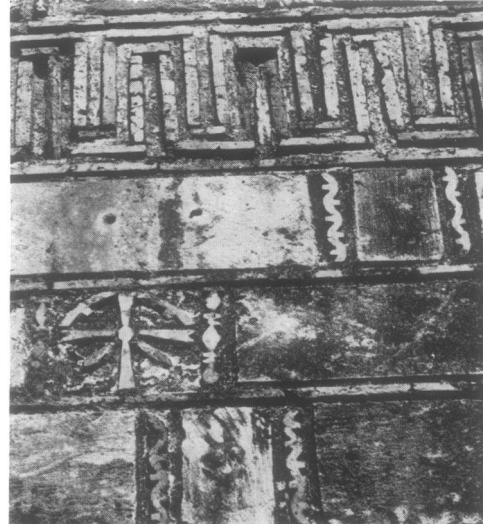
29. Amphissa, Ag. Soter.
North Window, detail



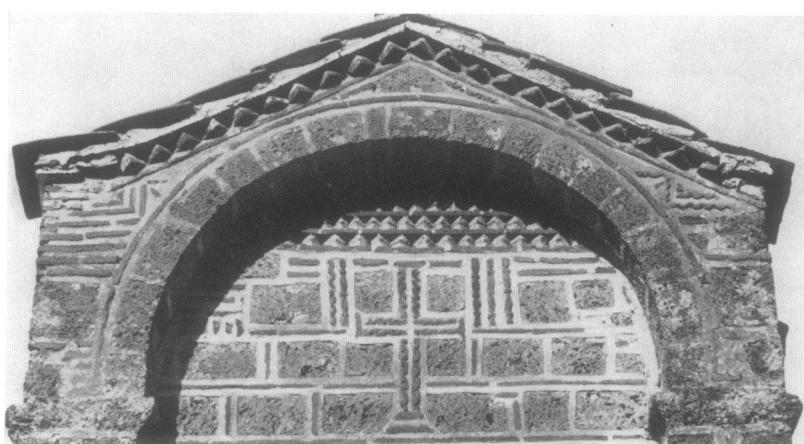
30. Sykaminon, Ag. Eleousa. Apse, Ornament detail



31. Hosios Loukas, Theotokos. Kufesque Figures and Architectural Ornaments



32. Merbaka, Panaghia. Ornament detail



33. Pyli, Porta Panaghia.
South Façade, Kufesque Brickwork and Ornament detail



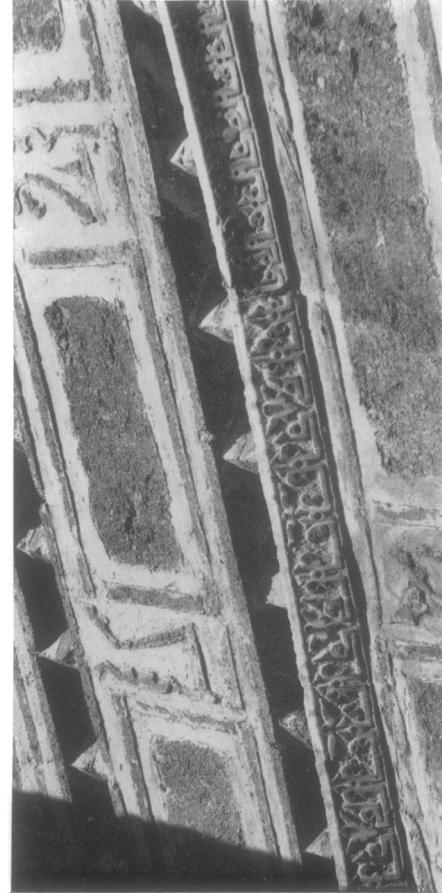
34. Arta, Kato Panaghia.
Ornament detail and Cut-brick Inscription



35. Elis, Vlachernai.
East Façade, North End, Ornament detail



36. Hosios Loukas, Theotokos. East End, detail of Cornice



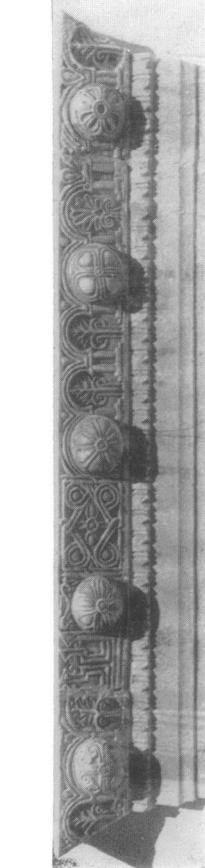
38. Ag. Georgios (Avlonari), Ag. Ioannes. Cornice with Kufic Letters



37. Daphne. Spring of South Vaults



39. Aliveri, Ag. Loukas. Epistyle



41. Monemvasia, Helkomenos. Lintel



40. Politika, Panagia. Templon Epistyle, detail



42. Mt. Hymettos, Ag. Ioannes Kynegos. Epistyle Fragment



43. Athens, Byzantine Museum, No. 318



44. Hosios Loukas. Fragment of Plaque



45. Hosios Loukas. Sarcophagus Lid, detail



46. Aliveri, Ag. Loukas.
Templon Screen



47. Athens, Byzantine Museum, No. 321



48. Athens, Byzantine Museum, No. 161



49. Kapareli. Plaque



50. Makrinitza, Panaghia.
Capital



51. Makrinitza, Panaghia. Plaque



52. Corinth. Plaque



53. Volo, Episkopi. Sarcophagus Slab



54. Hosios Loukas. St. Demetrios



55. Hosios Loukas. St. Prokopios



56. Palermo, Cappella Palatina. St. Demetrios



57. Leningrad, Hermitage Museum.
Ivory Triptych, Forty Martyrs, detail



58. Hosios Loukas, Crypt. Capital



61. Hosios Loukas, Katholikon, West End



62. Daphne, Exo-narthex. Fragment with Remains of Kufic Letters



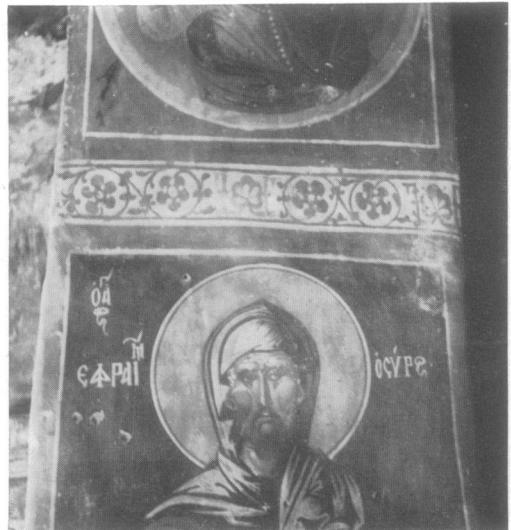
60. Feltre, S. Vittore and Corona.
Capital with Niello Design



63. Daphne, Exo-narthex. Capital



64. Monemvasia, Ag. Sophia. Fresco Border, detail



65. Molivdoskepasto, Panaghia. Frieze, detail



66. Kastoria, Ag. Nikolaos tou Kyritze. Frieze, detail



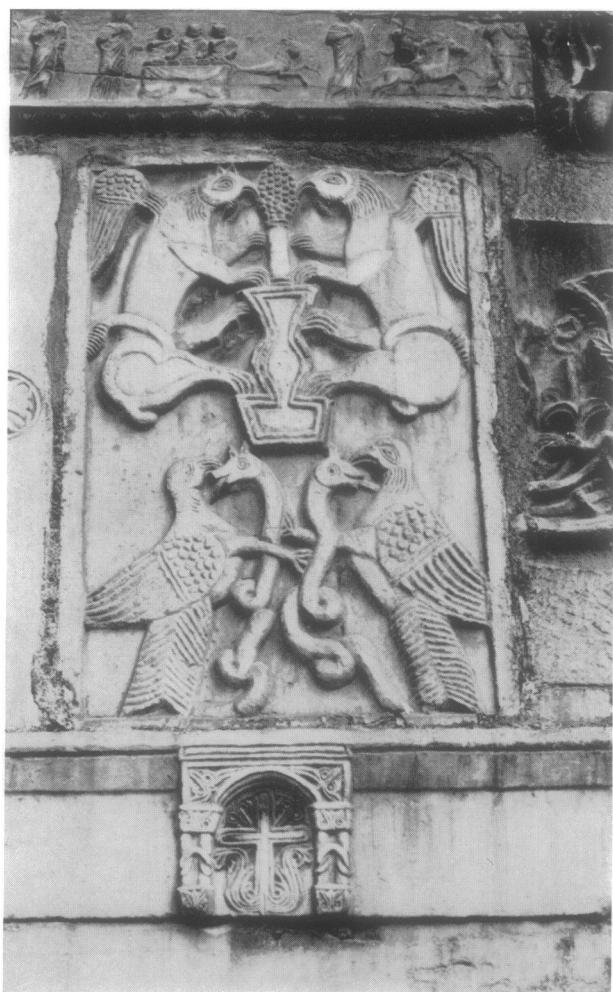
67. Amphissa, Ag. Soter. Horseshoe Arch



68. Skripou, Koimesis. Sculptured Plaques



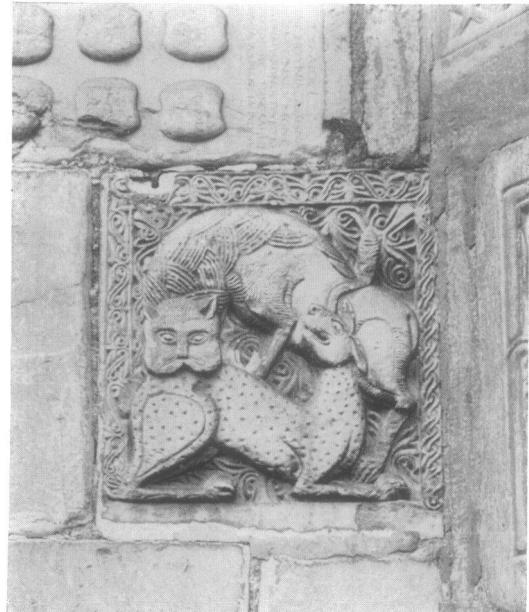
69. Athens, Gorgoepikoos, West End.
Plaque with Confronting Sphinxes



70. Athens, Gorgoepikoos, West End.
Plaque with Griffons, Eagles, and Serpents



71. Athens, Gorgoepikoos, West End.
Plaque with Griffons, Eagles, and Serpents



72. Athens, Gorgoepikoos, East End.
Plaque with Lion Attacking Deer



73. Khalkis Museum. Plaque with Lions



74. Khalkis Museum. Plaque with Griffon



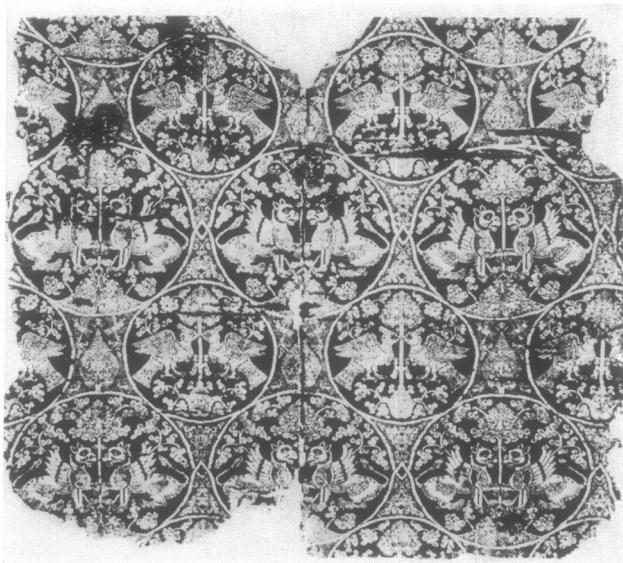
75. Thebes, Panaghia, East End. Plaque with Fabulous Monsters



76. Thebes, Museum.
Plaque with Hawk Devouring Duck



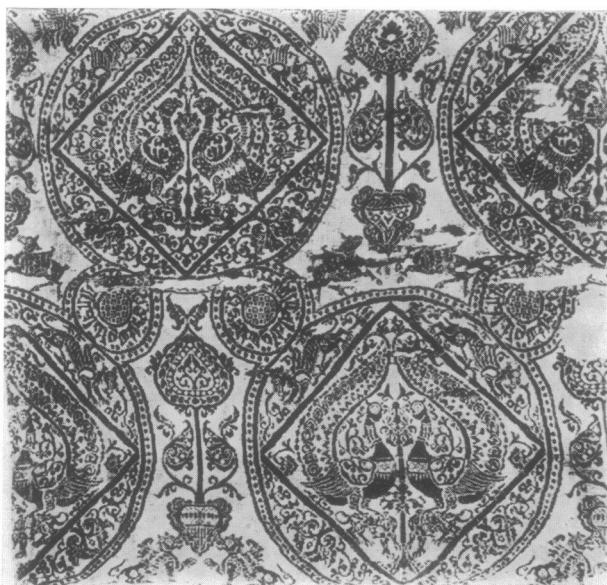
77. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
Stucco Plaque from Rayy, with
Hawk Attacking Duck



78. Buwayhid Silk Fragment



79. Makrinitza, Panaghia. Plaque



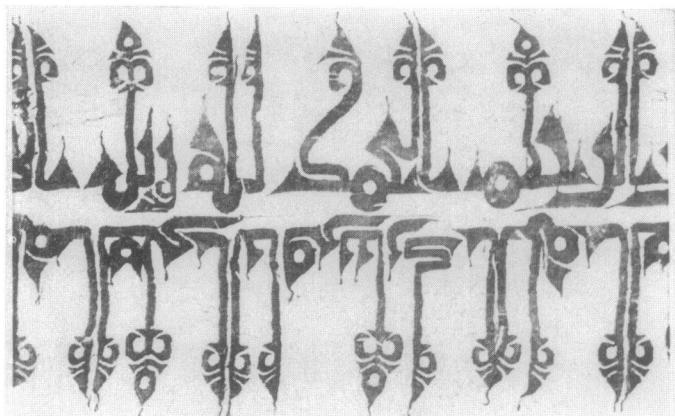
80. Buwayhid Silk Fragment



81. Volo, Museum. Marble Plaque



82. Washington, D. C., Textile Museum, No. 73.215



83. Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection, No. 26.2



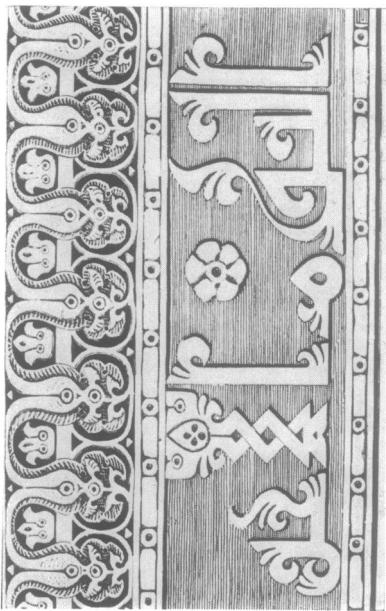
86. Washington, D. C., Textile Museum, No. 3.199



85. Athens, Roman Agora.
Plaque Fragment



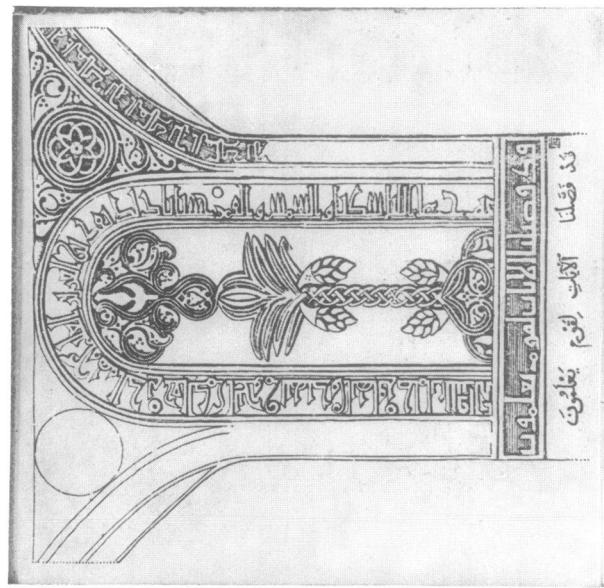
84. Washington, D. C., Textile Museum, No. 73.70



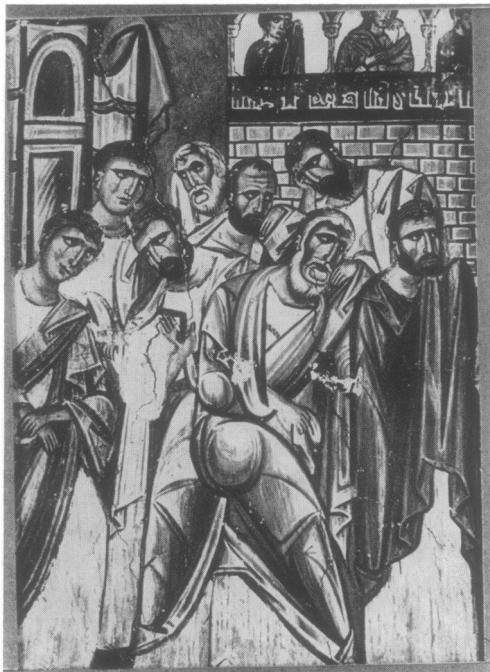
89. Nayin. Mosque Inscription



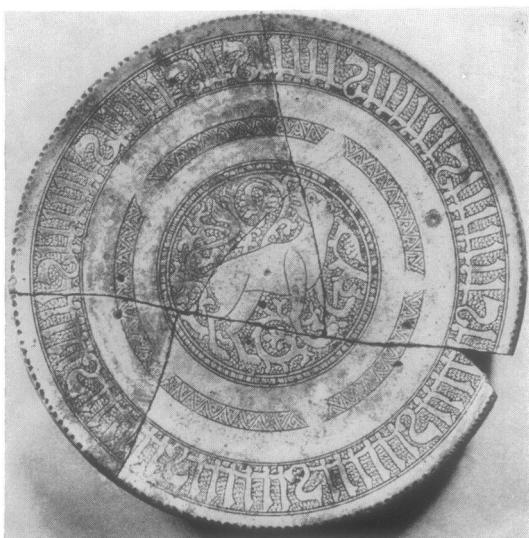
88. Corinth. Plaque



87. Cairo, Mosque of al-Azhar, Niche



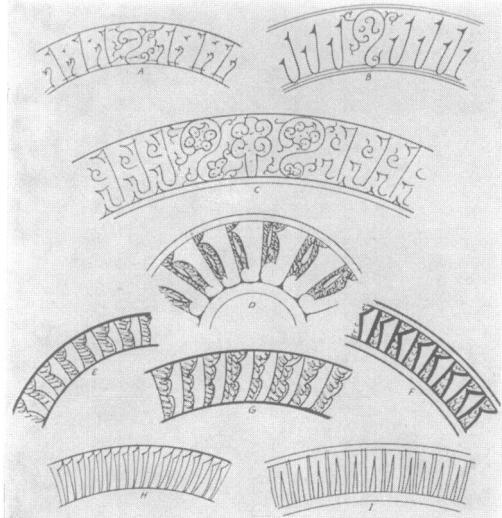
90. Kastoria, Mavriotissa. Fresco



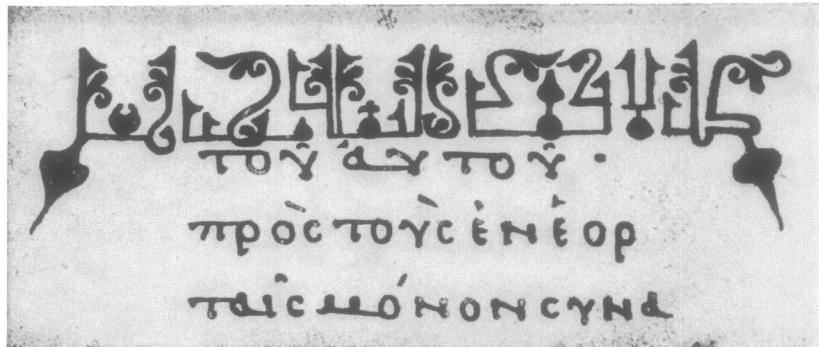
91. Athenian Agora, Excavations, P 5026



92. Fustāt. Lustre Bowl



93. Kufesque Designs on Pottery from Corinth Excavations



94. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. MS Gr. 660, fol. 850